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*Rev. Dr. Hamilton Fish
with Mr. Wm. C. Conant*

N.Y.C.
CASUAL PAPERS

UPON THE

" **“Alabama”**

AND

KINDRED QUESTIONS AND, INCIDENTALLY,

UPON

National Amenities.

(First published in the Hongkong Daily Press, 1862-65.)

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HONGKONG:

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A portion of some
Casual Original Papers

upon the American Question in 1862-63, reprinted to accompany the series of 1864, and with reference to the series of republications by E. P. U. closed on the 25th April 1863.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press," Hongkong.

MR. EDITOR.—The correspondents of the *Times* and some other journals have not been content, latterly, to paint actual scenes of the war in America with a dark pencil, unrelieved as these seem to be in their eyes by the devoted valor and sublime fortitude of the combatants;—but have attempted the prefigurement of a state of anarchy at the North as portending the failure of its cause, if not the utter wreck of Republican Institutions.

Let us not acquiesce in the hasty assumptions of the *sensation* Press of either country upon this or any other occasion; but sift the evidence well, lest in so much chaff as is constantly offered us we lose sight of the truth.

Here is the best of testimony *per contra*; upon the point in question, extracted as it is from the very journal cited by the "Times" correspondent in support of his prophecy, the New York "*World*."

Extracted from the "World" of 19th Sept.

"The Springfield *Republican* puts its heel upon some nonsense recently rampant thus:

"As for this talk about anarchy and military dictators, it is miserable drivel. It is a disgrace to the press and to all who read it with any other feeling than contempt. There is not in the

army, nor among the people, the slightest basis upon which to raise any such apprehension. The general who should dream of such a thing would show himself an idiot, with no sort of appreciation of the character of the American people—and the army is only a portion of the people. We are not on the verge of national destruction at all—we are nowhere in the neighborhood of anarchy or military usurpation. We are a strong, self-poised people, who comprehend the great work that has been assigned us, and are gathering up our strength for a final grasp at this monstrous rebellion, which, by God's grace, will throttle it and lay it out stark. That's the plain fact about it."

I am, Your subscriber.

E. P. U.

Macao, 29th November, 1862.

Editorial of July, 1863.

WE have been accused more than once of Confederate proclivities, and of a disposition to exclude from our columns, notices favorable to the Federal cause. We have more than once denied this charge, and as a set off to those who have made it, we shall feel obliged by the loan or gift of a copy of the address which Mr. W. B. Reed, who was a few years since United States Minister to China, made to a meeting in Philadelphia on the 29th March last. This address was republished in London under the title of "A Northern Plea for Peace," but we cannot procure a copy of it.

We have been favored with copies of a series of very able papers republished in China, on the subject of the conflict in the United States: and although we freely admit that logic and calm argument were relied upon by the amateur publisher in disseminating his views, still it cannot be denied that he deemed the cause of the North, the cause of right and liberty, and he took matters for granted accordingly. If he were unbiassed, impartial and unprejudiced, why should this address of Mr. Reed's be excluded from his very valuable series of papers? Mr. Ward, a Southerner also an ex-Minister to China, denounced the separation of the Union and the course adopted by the South. His opinions were

Mr. Aye.

put forward with much parade and emphasis amongst the published series we have alluded to and why we ask, should this address of Mr. Reed be excluded?

We understand that the latter has attracted much attention in London. Mr. Reed denounces the war, as well as the mode adopted of carrying it on. He protests against the invasion of States rights, the unscrupulous lawlessness of some of the military leaders, and most especially against the employment of negro troops with the view of creating an insurrection of the slaves. The address when delivered was warmly applauded by a large and respectable audience, and was deemed a good exponent of the state of public opinion in Philadelphia.

Editorial of the "Daily Press."

In our fourth page will be found a letter from our esteemed correspondent E. P. U. affixing and commenting on Mr. Seward's balcony speech to the seneraders whose ebullition of feeling caused them to embody their sentimental congratulations for the drawn battle of Gettysburgh, in the shape of a midnight prank.

Our valued correspondent has never yet given us his views on Mr. Reed's speech at Philadelphia. We do not approve of the views of either the *Times* or the *Saturday Review* on American affairs, on the contrary we like both sides of the question.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press."

MR. EDITOR—Below is the speech of Mr. Seward which has given so much zest to the last feast of *reason* prepared by the always-vigilant Jackalls of the British Lion; and it may help the readers of your quotations from the *Times* and *Saturday Review* to digest the truth and arrive at the pith of the matter:—

For assuredly the Secretary of State, called out of his bed at midnight, has neither in matter or manner made himself amenable to the bitter taunts of his domestic or foreign enemies, the latter of whom have so far abased themselves as to borrow epithets of the former, inspired by party malevolence and private spite.—Your Subscriber.

E. P. U.

Editorial of the "Daily Press."

BELOW will be found our valued correspondent, E. P. U.'s rejoinder to our thrice repeated suggestion that the public expected from him a review of Mr. Reed's celebrated speech at Philadelphia. Our Correspondent has begged the question. We are no admirer of Mr. Reed—yet as our Saviour on the Mount entertained and rebutted all the arguments advanced by Satan, so should our correspondent deal with those points of Mr. Reed's speech which excited such lively interest in London, even were Mr. Reed many times worse than he is.

The peculiar task which E. P. U. undertook, was self-imposed. He appeared to profess to cover all the vast ground of the question he opened, and he displayed an amount of tact and acumen, which made his arguments impressive to a degree. He appeared fully in earnest, yet he seemed to be so entirely guided by truth and logic, that he managed to throw a mantle over partisanship, which, while his style might impart to some the idea of lukewarmness, yet it could not fail to impress the general reader with a feeling that veracity and impartiality dictated the aspirations so ably deduced.

The plea regarding dates now put forward, we were not previously aware of. We thought we detected a *hiatus* in our correspondent's able effusions. He handled skilfully and ably all the notices on the subject of the right of secession which proved worthy of European celebrity,—at least in-so-far as they came to our notice, except this speech of Mr. Reed, which we do call upon him in the name of the public to review. Mr. Ward who was U. S. Minister here, came from Georgia—he condemned Secession, and E. P. U. made a great card of his having done so. Mr. Reed who preceded Mr. Ward as U. S. Minister to China, came from Pennsylvania,—he upholds Secession. The report of his speech was so widely circulated that E. P. U. can easily obtain a copy. We beg of him to review it. We perused it and it shook E. P. U.'s arguments in our mind, terribly.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press."

MR. EDITOR.—I hasten to point out that a great disservice has been done me in the misprinting of a portion of my letter in your issue of the 2nd instant, wherein I wrote, "the always-

vigilant Jackalls of the British Lion ;" whereas I am made to say, "the low vigilant Jackalls of the British Lion."

As to responding to your repeated appeals to me to admit the pertinence and force of certain strictures of Mr. W. B. Reed upon the War in the United States,—I should so much regret a misinterpretation of my seeming hesitation to accept your challenge, that I am constrained to evade it no longer, although I am violating a sense of reserve imposed by my own inclinations.

Permit me, then, first to meet the point of your remarks wherein you imputed to me—(in your editorial of July)—an intentional withholding of the speech of Mr. Reed of March 29th last at Philadelphia from the series of papers circulated by me, upon which you were then commenting.

Why—Mr. Editor, the latest issue of those Papers was in April,—the *Résumé* which covered the last being dated April 25th ; so that in very point of time your imputation became pointless : Neither had I seen the speech, in July ; nor have I yet seen it.

But, Secondly, as to the claim of Mr. Reed to be heard in any matter requiring dispassionate and unselfish treatment, I should be stating no new opinion of my own in denying such claim ; and I consider it as somewhat strange that I should be challenged to this expression of it by yourself, since you were not sparing of strictures upon his diplomatic career in China.

My distrust of him was intimated in a review of his speech at Philadelphia before leaving for China, in the Hongkong Magazine of September 1857 ; and this distrust was fully confirmed by his career, as well as by the labored and vainglorious accounts of his stewardship which he gave. These, also, were reviewed by me as exhibiting a gratuitous unfriendliness toward England ; and that any Englishman should still look to Mr. Reed for an unbiassed or reliable opinion upon a question wherein his own ambition has been chastened, is surprising.

That his own countrymen have full warrant for their distrust of his loyalty, it will suffice, at present, to quote here a Resolution of which he declares himself the sole author, and which was offered at a meeting of Democrats in Philadelphia on the 17th of January 1861, which is in these words ; and I beg you to note the insidious appeal in them to local and State pride, prejudice and material advantages :

“Resolved, That in the deliberate judgment of the Democracy of Philadelphia, and, so far as we know it, of Pennsylvania, the dissolution of the Union, by the separation of the whole South—a result we shall most sincerely deplore—may release this Commonwealth from the bonds which now connect it with the Confederacy, and would authorize and require its Citizens, through a Convention, to be assembled for that purpose, to determine with whom their lot shall be cast; whether with the North and East, whose fanaticism has precipitated this misery upon us, or with our Brethren of the South, whose wrongs we feel as our own; or whether Pennsylvania shall stand by herself, ready, when occasion offers, to bind together the broken Union, and resume her place of loyalty and devotion.”—I am, Your Subscriber.

E. P. U.

Macao, 3rd October 1863.

MACAO, *October 24th*, 1863.

MR. EDITOR,

By lack of statesmanship in England, America,—that was pre-eminently a commercial Nation,—is forced to become a warlike one; and the unnatural Mother, who intensifies the strife of her children, feels the retributive sting of the arrows in her own vitals.

Let us be hopeful that these sad lessons of our day will be heeded now and kept in remembrance hereafter;—that the World-wide strife which seems impending may be averted and the future intercourse of the two Nations conserve the natural affection that is at the bottom of the great heart of the two Peoples.

To express a hope, as you did recently, that the fitting-out of war vessels in England for the Confederates may be stopped by the Government, is but to declare for peace between our two Nations; and it is reassuring to perceive that the “Times” has, at length, dried its crocodile tears sufficiently to perceive the danger of its course of inculcation, especially in respect to this paramount matter of the moment.

But, whilst it is satisfactory to note its change of both tone and tenor in the later expositions of the subject, the want of completeness in its citation of authorities upon public Law is less so.

IN view of this, I am fortunate in receiving by the last mail, a contribution upon this very point from the pen of one of the highest legal authorities in America,—Professor Parsons of Harvard University, shewing that the citations in the case of the *Alexandra* were very partial, and pointing out most lucidly that the case of the “*Gran Para*” or “*Irresistible*” properly rules these cases. *

E. P. U.

Some Casual Papers upon The “Alabama” and her Commander.

(Published in the *Hongkong Daily Press*, and reprinted, owing to errors of the press.)

The *Friend of India* of October 29th speaks as follows of the *Alabama* and her Commander Semmes.

“The *Madras Athenæum* in a very sensible article on the “*Alabama*, apropos of her possible appearance in those seas, puts “Captain Semmes in his proper position and dubs him, pirate.—“To all intents and purposes a pirate he is, and should he appear “at Madras is not likely to be received with that distinction which “met him at the Cape of Good Hope. A remarkable feature in “this American War is the sympathy which we as a people have “all along shewn to the Southern cause. Enemies of Slavery, we “have constantly patted a would-be gigantic Slave Power on the “back, and men like Semmes who go fillibustering all round the “globe, are put into our gallery of heroes. A curious inconsistency.”

Editorial of the “Daily Press.”

WE have received the above from a valued correspondent, and we insert it accordingly. Considering the dreadful condition into which the United States are plunged by the present disastrous

* NOTE.—The exposition of Professor Parsons and the Speech of the Secretary of State are omitted in this reprint as superfluous, from their having been widely published in America.

E. P. U.

war, we can so far sympathise with a Northerner as to respect any opinions he may express, no matter how violent and *ultra* they may appear. But we look upon an unprejudiced man who maintains that Captain Semmes is a pirate, as a goose, and neither capable of arguing, nor worthy of being argued with.

The Confederate States unquestionably form a belligerent power—that even the Federal government admit, in the exchange of prisoners, and in the principles which guide their law courts. There is not the slightest occasion, for the purposes of our argument, to enter on the merits of the quarrel—suffice it to say, the fact is indisputable, and is admitted by the Federal government, that the Confederate States are a belligerent power.

Such being the case, the right of either belligerent to prey on the commerce of the other is undoubted. The Federals have blockaded the Confederate ports, and are continually seizing and confiscating neutral vessels in attempting to break the blockade; the Confederates having no port open wherein to take their prizes, adjudicate upon them at the capstan head, and instead of selling them as lawful prizes, burn them. The charge of piracy therefore resolves itself into this. Federal seizures are adjudicated on by a court of law, whilst Confederate seizures are not. We have not seen the charge of piracy against the Confederate cruisers defined, and the construction we have placed on it appears to us far more tangible than anything we have seen expressed.

Now this charge will not stand investigation. The Confederate Government desire to be acknowledged by all civilised States, and holding themselves responsible for the acts of their cruisers, have sent envoys to the great European powers, to urge acknowledgment of their independence and to be properly represented. If one of their cruisers should destroy a vessel belonging to a neutral power, they extend every facility to enable such claims to be made. No such claims have ever arisen except in the case of a suit established against the *Florida*, at Brest.

But there is another consideration. Retaliation in war, is perfectly right and regular. Will any one argue that the Federal government have the right to invade the Southern States, to do their utmost to cause a servile war; to burn down towns wantonly, as they did Jackson; to pour Greek fire into cities as they did into Charleston; to commit the cruelties on women which General Butler did in New Orleans; in point of fact, to sink, burn and

destroy by fire and sword, and yet deny the South the right to retaliate?

It might be as well argued that the law is cruel, because it provides that evil doers shall be punished. For, as the law punishes evil doers as an example and a terror to the evil disposed, so does Captain Semmes destroy all the Federal ships he meets, to the end that American Commerce may be swept from the seas. He has destroyed about sixty ships, and has prevented perhaps six thousand from going to sea. He has observed all national amenities, and local regulations—he has not appropriated, to our knowledge, any of the property which he has seized to himself. He is the faithful servant of a belligerent power, whose cause he espouses with zeal, patriotism, energy, talent, and fidelity. His object is to sweep American Commerce from the seas, and wonderfully has he succeeded in deeply injuring the enemy of his country; this ship is in perfect discipline—a pattern of a war vessel. He is undoubtedly, next to Garibaldi, the hero of the day. He is a patriot, a gentleman, and a great sea captain. Abraham Lincoln calls him a pirate, as Pio Nono, calls Garibaldi a brigand. One charge is as true as the other.

The parties interested in the vessels which Captain Semmes destroys are doubtless entitled to every sympathy; but then it must be remembered that they knew precisely the risk they ran when they embarked on the voyages which proved so disastrous to them. If Captain Semmes were to let them pass unmolested, he would betray his trust and would not snuff out, as his daring acts have tended to do, the commerce of the United States.

Still, it ill becomes an English community to feast and fete him, as the denizens of Cape Town did. He preys on the commerce of a people who are nigh akin to us in blood, and who speak our language—a people who may have a plenitude of demagogues amongst them, with slack jaws, foul tongues, and chaotic ideas of liberty, but who still nevertheless, are in civilization, in the arts and sciences, in Christianity and in progress, our fellows and our equals. If we do not espouse their cause, let us leave them to work out their own redemption and their destiny, and not fête and applaud the ubiquitous destroyer of their commerce, however much we may admire his tact, courage, and determination.

To the Editor of the "Hongkong Daily Press."

MACAO, 15th January, 1864.

MR. EDITOR.—Your issue of yesterday, which has just reached me, reproduces a brief editorial of the *Friend of India*, commenting approvingly upon one in the *Madras Athenæum* wherein the commander of the *Alabama* is "put in his proper position and dubbed a pirate;" and I observe that you so far take exception to this characterization as to apply the contemptuous epithet of "goose" to those two contemporaries,—than whom none east of the Cape occupy a higher moral position.

As I sent you the editorial in question without comment of my own, and withheld from it the responsibility of my present *nom de plume*, I might rightly be absolved altogether from noticing the lapse from editorial decorum in the pen you wielded on this occasion; and certainly your amiable ignoring of the maxim that "sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander," by excluding myself and my fellow citizens of the Northern States from the category of the former, induces me to attribute the aberration to some infusion of the nature of the "quill," rather than to a continuity of thought in the wielder of it.

But, Mr. Editor, we will bandy neither compliments or epithets, for the personal is lost in the national,—the individual among the many,—in the grave circumstances of the present time; nor can we claim to be representative men. We may feel impelled to speak or to write: but we must be quite conscious that what we say is fragmentary and inconclusive. We remember, indeed, that the *cackle of geese once saved Rome*; and may content ourselves to draw thence the hope of attracting the attention of the real guardians of the People.

I say the *People*, for the question that you discuss as one of feeling and passion,—as between two belligerents and mere observers,—is one of principles, underlying the welfare of Peoples, and of universal concernment; in short, the question of civilization itself.—And it is because your remarks upon it betray the want of a precise knowledge of facts, and denote, as I think, a halting regard of these principles, along with some concessions to latent prejudices or morbid sympathies, that I attempt a reply to them: Rather, I shall attempt a marshalling of facts and considerations

pertaining to the question, instead of a reply in the sense of individual opinion.

1. *As to the facts of the origin and career of the "Alabama" as constituting her a lawful Ocean belligerent, or the contrary.*

As obviously the question is to be viewed in the light of, and discussed in the sense of the latest authentic manifestation of the common accord of all the civilized States, I will thank you to insert at this point,—as moreover of great interest in itself as well as of pertinence in the immediate question,—the following record of the result of the negotiation upon the questions of Public Law, embodied in the Declaration of the 16th April, 1856, by the Congress of Paris.

Pointing specially to article 3, in passing, I reserve further matter, lest I overrun the space of one of your issues.—

E. P. U.

ABOLITION OF PRIVATEERING, &c.

(Translated from the Paris Moniteur of July 14th, 1858.)

MEMORANDUM TO THE EMPEROR.

SIRE.—Your Majesty will deign to remember that the powers which signed the declaration of the 16th April, 1856, pledged themselves to take steps to render the adoption thereof general. I have, therefore, hastened to communicate this declaration to all the governments which were not represented in the congress of Paris, inviting them in the meantime to accede to it; and I now have the honor to inform the Emperor of the favorable reception which the communication has met with.

Adopted and ratified by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Sardinia, and Turkey, the declaration of the 16th of April has received the full adhesion of the following powers:—Baden, Bavaria, Belgium, Bremen, Brazil, Duchy of Brunswick, Chile, The Argentine Confederation, The Germanic Confederation, Denmark, The Two Sicilies, Ecuador, The Roman States, Greece, Guatemala, Lubeck, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Nassau, Oldenburg, Parma, The Netherlands, Peru, Portugal, Saxony, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Weimar, Sweden, Hayti,

Hamburg, Hanover, The Two Hesses, Switzerland, Tuscany, Wurtemberg.

The above-named governments acknowledge, then, with France and the other powers, signers of the treaty of Paris.—

1. That privateering is, and remains, abolished.

2. That the neutral flag covers the cargo of the enemy, except when it is contraband of War.

3. That neutral goods, except contraband of War, are not seizable under the enemy's flag.

4. Finally, that blockades, to be obligatory, are to be effective—that is to say, maintained by a sufficient force to shut out the access of the enemy's ships and other vessels in reality.

The government of Uruguay has also given its entire assent to these four principles, except its ratification by the Legislature.

Spain, without acceding to the declaration of the 16th of April, on account of the first article concerning the abolition of privateering, has answered that she appropriated the three others as her own. Mexico has given the same answer.

The United States would also be ready to grant their adhesion if it were added to the enunciation of the abolition of privateering that the private property of citizens, subjects of the belligerent powers, would be free from seizure at sea from the War navies respectively.

Save these exceptions, all the cabinets have adhered without reserve to the four principles constituting the declaration of the congress of Paris ; and thus, in the international law of nearly all the States of Europe and America, a progress is declared to which the government of your Majesty, following one of the most honorable traditions of French policy, may congratulate itself to have powerfully contributed.

In order to authenticate these adhesions, I propose to the Emperor to authorize the insertion, in the *Bulletin des Lois*, of the official notes in which these adhesions are consigned ; and if your Majesty agrees to that proposition, I will publish in the same manner the accessions which may reach me subsequently.

I am, with respect, Sire, of your Majesty the most obedient Servant and true subject.—

WALEWSKI.

Approved, NAPOLEON, the 12th June, 1858.

(From the "Daily Press" of January 22nd, 1864.)

THE "ALABAMA."

PART 2.

What, then, is her history and what are the considerations which deprive her of a proper character of Ocean belligerency?

FIRST.—She was built in defiance of Public Law, and in contravention of the Special Statutes of England, at Birkenhead; whence she was surreptitiously taken to Sea, but a few hours before the telegraphic order to seize her reached Liverpool.

She thus escaped without either a Register or Port-clearance, and known only as vessel No. 290, from the building yard of Laird and Son.

Too late in recognizing her unlawful character, (owing it is stated to the illness of legal advisers,) although Mr. Collier (now Her Majesty's Solicitor General) had pointed it out, and which was only too surely betrayed by her sudden departure in disguise and without documents, Her Majesty's Ministers strove to intercept her by sending orders for her seizure to Queenstown and Nassau; but she avoided those ports.

And thereafter, it required only that she should receive her crew and her armament and stores, to constitute her the lawless Sea Rover that she has notoriously become;—the pre-requisite of visiting a port of the so-called Confederacy, in order that her inchoate character should be determined, and an assumed legality be conferred upon her subsequent career by the Rebel Authorities, never having been complied with, although she made an attempt to enter the port of Galveston in Texas:—In this respect her *status* being, thus, left unlike the "Florida's," which succeeded in entering the port of Mobile.

Conceived and built, as we see she was, in violation of the Laws of Nations, the Statutes of England and the Proclamation of the Queen, and wanting all color of legality, this vessel was conducted off Point Lynas where another steamer was awaiting her with a portion of her crew and stores, and thence she proceeded to Terceira, one of the Azores, belonging to Portugal. There she was joined by the British Vessel *Agrippina*, which had brought from England the principal part of her Guns and Stores. While transshipping these, the Portuguese Authorities interfered to prevent such an abuse of a neutral port; but were disregarded, and falsely

told that the *Alabama* was merely relieving the other vessel because she was sinking. Soon after, however, the British Steamer *Bahama* arrived direct from Liverpool, whence she had been cleared as for Nassau, with Raphael Semmes and about fifty additional men, and the residue of the Guns and Stores. Then the Portuguese Authorities ordered them all off. They finally complied so far as to go to another part of the coast of the Island, where they completed the transhipment, in defiance of the Sovereignty of Portugal. There, too, Raphael Semmes took command of the *Alabama* and hoisted the Rebel flag on her, in place of the Ensign of England, which had been flying over her before; read his commission; and started on his course of license and spoliation.

We see, therefore, in what a spirit of audacity the Authorities of both England and Portugal were disregarded in the three first stages of the *Alabama's career*;—that, if I may use an expressive figure of speech to typify its malign influence, the incubation of this Sea Monster was under the shelter of the Flag of England, that its struggles into life in its destined element, wherein it sought the shores of Terceira, were by prostituting the same Flag,—and finally that it obtained its insidious and destructive power under the shelter of the Flag of Portugal, in defiance of the repeated injunctions of the Authorities to leave her Sovereignty inviolate.

Thence-forward, as though revelling in his lawlessness and, with a deep cunning, foreseeing as its consequence a provocation to hostilities between England and the United States, to which last he owes allegiance as a Citizen, and which, as an Officer, he had sworn to support,—he has prosecuted a cruel War upon the Ocean against his peaceful fellow citizens of America;—assuming, for this purpose, the Flag of England sometimes and at others the Flag of the United States,—first one disguise and than another as a decoy, and even burning ships at night instead of day, in order to attract the sympathy of unwary Seamen to the spot whereat he was lying in wait for their capture; nor has the property of other Nations escaped his work of spoliation and destruction, whilst it has inflicted great hardships and exposure upon innocent Seamen and even upon Women and children.

Thus,—having no Court of Prize or legal *status* anywhere,—his cruizes have been marked by burning wrecks, as from point to point in the Oceans he had been chased by the National Vessels of War. Driven from the North Atlantic by them, he sought the

Coasts of Brazil; and there, with characteristic insolence, violated the Sovereignty of that Empire, which produced a Decree of expulsion and exclusion.

We next hear of him off the Cape of Good Hope, and more recently near Java, and the last day or two near Singapore,—intercepting and destroying vessels: in one case effecting a capture with ~~the~~ British Register; in several, destroying the property of neutrals on board American ships.

SECONDLY.—In short, so obviously illegal is her origin and her career, that it is understood that the Government of the United States considers itself justified in presenting the claims of its citizens, for the losses inflicted upon them, to the British Government; and the recent seizure of the Rebel Rams in the Mersey, indicates the measurable concurrence, at least, of Her Majesty's Ministers in the views of the former.

These are the facts, and such is substantially the history of the *Alabama's* origin and career; and it would seem that no one can doubt that it is marked by the characteristics of lawlessness, rather than with those of legality:—Thus marked in the eye of the Law of Nations, and in the eye of the Laws of England.

THIRDLY.—And quite aside of and beyond these elements of the question of legality, is the other most important one, that the United States Government has not acquiesced in the recognition of the revolted portion of the Southern people of the Union as properly entitled to the rights of Belligerents at Sea.

What, then, is the *status* of Raphael Semmes, according to the Laws of both the United States and England?—The answer is found in the following citation of the Law, though I am unable to name the Statute.—By various “statutes in England and the “United States, other offences (beside robbing) are made piracy.”

“Thus, if a subject of either of those Nations commits any “act of hostility against a fellow subject on the high Seas, under “color of a commission from any foreign power, this is an act of “piracy.”

And what would be the predicament of the British Seamen among her crew, if the principle which the British Government sought to establish at the outbreak of the Crimean War had been acquiesced in by the United States?

I find the proposition cited in Wheaton (last edition) as follows:

“Both Great Britain and France would, at this time, most readily, enter into a Convention, stipulating that their subjects “or citizens, their Government being a neutral, who shall accept a “commission or letter of Marque to engage in the Privateer service, “the other party to the Convention being a belligerent, may be “treated as pirates.”

The Declaration of the 16th of April 1856 by the Congress of Paris did not make this point conclusive with all Nations; but it was not because the United States stopped short of so high a principle: It was, rather, that the leading powers of Europe hesitated to give completion to the principle, as you have seen in the Memorandum of Count Walewski, already sent to you,—the counter-proposition being therein mentioned, though it is not stated in its entirety. And as it is of permanent value, as well as of present interest, I here embody it, in the words of President Pierce, as follow;

“The proposal to surrender the right to employ privateers is “professedly founded upon the principle, that private property of “unoffending non-combatants, though enemies, should be exempt “from the ravages of War; but the proposed surrender goes but “little way in carrying out that principle, which equally requires “that such private property should not be seized or molested by “national ships of war. Should the leading powers of Europe “concur in proposing, as a rule of international law, to exempt “private property, upon the Ocean, from seizure by public armed “cruisers, as well as by privateers, the United States will readily “meet them upon that broad ground.”

This overture has never been accepted by England and France, yet although they have not carried the ameliorative principle, which it embodies, into practical effect, there is no doubt as to the general sense of the civilized World at the present day.—

It favors the application of the ameliorative principle to all the relations of man; and hence the violent strivings in a wilfully-retrogressive course by a portion of the Southern people, wherein you consider Raphael Semmes a conspicuous object, is repugnant to the better instincts of the time,—however heroic the actors may be.—But I fear to overrun your space, remaining, Your Subscriber.

E. P. U.

Macao, 18th January, 1864.

Editorial of the "Daily Press."

IT will of course be premature in us to review the letter of our esteemed correspondent E. P. U. which appeared in our issue of yesterday—but we would remark *en passant*, that the term "goose" as applied by us when discussing the point as to whether Captain Semmes is or is not a pirate, was of course applicable only in a Pickwickian sense. Such being the case the "high moral position of the *Madras Athenæum* and of the *Friend of India*, has no reference to the point of the term goose being applicable to them—for there may be vicious geese, such as Abraham Lincoln; or Arithmetical geese, like Dr. Colenso; or highly moral geese such as Dr. Cumming. The *Friend of India* has strong missionary and Federal proclivities—the *Madras Athenæum* we never saw in our life, so that it cannot be a journal of much weight we should suppose. However, let the question at issue stand upon its own merits. The point to decide is, whether Captain Semmes of the *Alabama*, can be deemed a pirate by any train of reasoning, moral or legal.

We have no objection to the special pleading of E. P. U. nor his beating about the bush as much as he pleases. The plums which he throws out by the way make ample restitution for the deviation—but he must not suppose for one moment that we shall lose sight of the main point: nor must he fancy that he has proved the *Alabama* to be a pirate.

He had much better describe what constitutes piracy—and then dispose of the *dictum* that the *Alabama* is a cruiser belonging to a belligerent state which is responsible for her acts.

(Issue of 20th.)

Some Casual Papers upon the
American Question, and, incidentally, upon
National amenities.

Editorial of the "Daily Press" of 8th February, 1864.

WE take from the Calcutta Phoenix an account reproduced by that paper from a Cape Journal, of the high handed seizure of a British vessel, by the Federal War steamer *Vanderbilt*. We commend this to the perusal of our astute, and respected correspondent E. P. U. We ask him what would have been said had the *Alabama* acted in this manner? We ask him to view the occurrence from the same stand point as that which induced him to pronounce Capt. Semmes a pirate. Should he adopt our suggestion, we shall really feel obliged to him to apply his principles to the conduct of Capt. Roderick Dew of Her Majesty's ship *Encounter*, during his career at Ningpo, who, after coalescing in a most sneaking underhand manner with the notorious pirate Apak, slew a number of people who courted his friendship and towards whom Her Majesty's government had declared themselves neutral. Nay more,—contrary to express orders, Capt. Dew used the armament and the men belonging to the ship under his command, to invade Chinese territory, breaching the walls of Shaoushing, simply because the Imperialists could not do so themselves. If such acts can be justified, then England stands in the same position as the Dey of Algiers did.

As the *Alabama* and the *Vanderbilt* are on the tapis in special reference to illegal acts at sea, in common fairness we must bring in the *Encounter*. The murder of Gray was a brutal act, but a paltry retail one in comparison to what Capt. Dew has committed.

REPLY OF E. P. U. TO THE ABOVE.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press."

MR. EDITOR.—Your premature appeal to me of the 8th inst., which reached me yesterday evening, upon the case of the Saxon's seizure by the U. S. S. *Vanderbilt* at Angra Pequena, only serves to remind me of what I would fain forget, as the most disagreeable feature of all questions between our respective countries.

I mean the *animus* wherewith any incident of our relations susceptible of adverse interpretation is seized upon by a portion of the British Press, to embitter and lend acerbity to discussions, which in the multitude of points of contact between rival communities of the same active, not to say aggressive, race must naturally arise in a period of War.

The captious and hostile spirit of this *rampant* portion of the Press has perverted one of the noblest of causes, and betrayed many estimable people, who now,—on feeling their footing getting insecure,—are casting about for plausible reasons for their lapse of faith; and blunder not a little in the search,—as we see, for instance, in the last issue of your weekly contemporary.

The multitude are not so much to blame, for, in truth, there was a total want of philosophical breadth of statesmanship in the accepted Oracles of the people, until recently.

The premature recognition of the South as belligerents lent the rebellion great support; and so, step by step, a bad cause and a desperate venture were gilded in the eyes of that people whom we were wont to regard as eminently practical and prudent. Then, emboldened, those birds of ill omen—the stormy Petrels of the Press, who hover near the brink of War, began to shew their plumage, like mercenary Soldiers of fortune whose prosperity lies in aggravation of the strife; and well wrought they in their calling of evil, albeit with rusty weapons. Latent prejudices were warmed into new life, and where the record was bare (*invention*) supplied food for invective, until the passions of multitudes were aroused, and the Trent affair was seized upon with a shout of welcome. The petulant Mother was not to be crossed, whatever the Daughter's exigency might be!—

Prophet of Peace as I was on that occasion, I have since rejoiced to see a gradual subsidence of the angry waves of feeling

in England; and, at length, in the seizure of the Rebel Rams, a guarantee of good faith, which is all that America asks for, though she has rightful claim to reciprocal consideration and a legitimate craving of sympathy.—

Such craving being the earnest of friendliness, not to say affection, has little deserved the bitter taunts in which the *Times* and *Saturday Review* indulged; and but that the labored sophistries of the one and the sugared poisons of the other have nauseated great numbers of the British people, the wounds might rankle.

Betrayed by its *animus*, the *Times* forgot its *role* of prudence in respect to Foreign stocks and leading its readers into subscriptions to the Confederate Loan, lost 800 subscribers, after the first fall in August, in one week, it is said; and the only strange thing about its blundering and unprincipled course, as of that of the *Saturday Review*, is that their readers did not revert to their former record upon American questions to test their good-faith and consistency, instead of echoing their special pleading for the Rebels.

Let us glance momentarily at a few instances of their inconsistency, which have accidentally met my eye recently.

Thus:—in 1860 the *Saturday Review*, in noticing a pamphlet of Mr. Wm. B. Lawrence, of Rhode Island, upon "Cotton prospects," alluded to the "traditional hostility" of his—the Democratic party—toward England; and did the Republican party the justice to speak of it as contending, "not for the abolition of Slavery in the States, but against its intrusion into the Territories,"—yet has not scrupled, the past two years, to stultify itself by affiliating with the former party and maligning the latter.

Its closing paragraph, assuming to be dictated from the loftiest point of view of high-toned principle, and to be addressed to all Europe, was as follows:—

"We trust that Europeans will never persuade themselves, like Mr. Lawrence's political friends, that what is very difficult to remedy, is justified by the difficulty.—*Saturday Review*."

But what shall we now say of its principles, after reading its philippics against the Republican party, when grappling with this very difficulty;—a difficulty magnified many times by this puny faith?

As to the *Times*, one instance will also suffice to shew how inconsistent with its real principles and opinions, as applied to European politics and national life, are those which it sophistically assumes in discussing the American question.—

Thus, in a leading article of August last, it noticed the Congress of Frankfort and in an elaborate and able exposition of the great question of the day in Germany, if not of Europe, exposed the evils of its divided nationalities in a sense the most apposite to the American question, and with an earnest craving of German unity that bespoke the desire of such a powerful counterpoise of France;—forgetful, the while, of its accustomed reasoning in a contrary sense against the efforts of the United States to preserve its national unity, which so palpably betrays its jealousy of the American counterpoise to England on the Sea. I reproduce a few brief extracts in illustration, as follow:—

“These Kingdoms, and Duchies, and Principalities all go to make up one sole nation, and the settlement of the relations between them is to a great extent the same thing as it would be to arrange afresh the votes and relative influence of our English and Scotch Counties. The truth is that the political development of Germany is two or three centuries or more behind that of every other European State except Russia. There was a time in the history of all European States when they were composed of a number of half independent Dukedoms, Principalities, or Kingdoms, but in all but Germany the force and vigour of some leading member of the body has gradually extinguished the others and absorbed them into one State. It is only necessary to look through a series of good chronological maps of Europe to see the way in which this process has been carried out in France and Italy. In each of these countries, *wise and sagacious Sovereigns have taken advantage of the weaknesses or the jealousies of minor States to crush or absorb them one by one*, and they have grown into their present harmonized form out of what seemed at first a fortuitous concurrence of atoms. * * *

“Various, but hitherto abortive, efforts have been made to stop this tendency to disintegration, and to establish a great German nationality, or Federation. Ever since the First NAPOLEON destroyed the old German Empire, the dread of a similar dissolution has existed in the German mind, and its whole internal policy has been directed to prevent it. The German Confederation of 1815 was intended to be an effective substitute for the old Empire, and to constitute a great central European Power. But it was too late in the day to bring about a real unity. As in the natural body, so in the political, unity

"grows out of variety, and one body is composed of various elements; but if the elements do not assimilate at once they get a habit of isolation and grow into separate and distinct forms. * * * *

"While this unwieldy, somewhat heavy, and ponderous mass of German nationality has been thinking, and doubting, and hesitating how to act and how to consolidate itself, a more sharpwitted nation on the one side, and a more unscrupulous and less thoughtful Empire on the other, have been growing into united and condensed Powers, which threaten to cut in sunder the German nation at its very centre. France on one side, and Russia on the other, are inserting the points of territorial wedges which threaten to force the German national body into two separate divisions. * * * *

"The weakness of the scheme consists in its want of a broad, popular basis. It begins from the top, and not from the bottom. It does not strike its roots deep in the people of Germany, and would be likely to break up with the jealousies and rivalries of Princes. It is proposed, indeed, to establish also an Assembly of Delegates; but this is only to meet once every three years, and its members are not to be elected by the people of the different States, but by the several Diets. We do not wonder that the Assembly of Delegates now at Frankfort should consider that this scheme offers a too narrow popular basis for so vast a superstructure, and should see little hope of a permanent construction of German unity which is not based upon deep popular representation. * *

"The Bund was a mere bundle of sticks, some big and some little, but none of them growing together, and loosely bound by an artificial bond. * *

"It is at least certain that the German Federation cannot continue to exist as it does as present."

Yet, in America, the Times would like to see the same process of disintegration applied, the same experiment tried over again!—

Such are some of the betrayals of the animus actuating a portion of the British Press, which are here instanced as shewing abandonment of principles, leaving the numerous cases of perversion of facts; but, on the other hand, several influential Journals and measurably some of the Periodicals have striven against the torrent

of abuse launched at the Northern people and aided by many estimable persons among the nobility and gentry have, at length, turned the popular current into a more peaceful channel.

Assuredly America's record is bright by the side of England, whether we regard the past, the recent or the present. In both the Crimea and India, England fought for Empire;—America fights for National life.

And that my Countrymen find appreciative regard among the gifted portion of yours, as well as among the middle classes, is shewn by the subjoined extract of a paper in "*Fraser's Magazine*," which I gladly reproduce.

"GRAND NATIONAL SPECTACLE OF THE UNITED STATES PUTTING DOWN THE REBELLION.—*Fraser's Magazine* (a high Tory organ in London) for October, says:

"If it is true that the North have had in arms some 800,000 men, and which is absurd, we allow 300,000 of them to have been mercenaries, it would still be true that a population not exceeding Great Britain sent 500,000 into the field. This would be at the very least one-eighth of the grown-up men of the country. When we consider that this effort was made, not against an invader, nor under the pressure of want, but in the midst of unbounded prosperity, and in order to support the glory and credit of the nation, it is bare justice to say that the history of mankind can furnish no other example of such an effort. The Dutch fought the Spaniards for their hearths, homes and churches; the French fought all Europe, with famine and the guillotine behind them, and empire in front. The English in India had the pride of a superior race and the memories of inextinguishable injuries to urge them against the Sepoys; but if ever a nation sacrifices itself deliberately and manfully to an idea, this has been the case with the Americans. Admit for the sake of argument that they are altogether wrong, still their intense and earnest sincerity, and their single minded self-devotion, are magnificent, and ought to have excited the admiration instead of the sneer of their kindred."

Trusting that you are still in a receptive humor for "plums" and that you will find those dropped in the foregoing divergencies from the direct path fruitful enough for the wedding cake of the new union of our respective people's hearts, I now turn briefly to the case of the "Saxon":—To say:—

First. That I do not mean to put you into the category of the rampant Journals upon the American question ; but only to say that you have taken too much for granted in disparagement of the North, and, concurrently, have been too receptive of matter in favour of the South.

This has shown, not so much personal bias or animus, as a too implicit faith in the popular organs in England ; and your inconsistency, as it strikes me, has been in thus according confidence to those whose policy in China and Japan you have condemned :—that is to say, if I rightly understand you upon these latter points, you concur with myself in the policy of applying the tentative method of treatment in Japan, rather than the dominating, and the same toward the Taipings.

Secondly. As to the merits of this case of the Saxon :—they lie chiefly on the surface ; and I think you would do well to wait for the statement of the other side.

Angra Pequena is not British, but independent (Hottentot) territory, I think ; and it was thence that the “skins and wool” were shipped to the “Saxon :” This cargo was that of the “Tuscaloosa”—formerly “Conrad” of Philadelphia, seized by the *Alabama* and manned as a Cruiser.

As to the shooting of Gray, it was declared to be accidental ; and it is evident from Capt. Shepard’s statement that the brandishing of arms was warranted by the defiant attitude and language of himself and his crew,—the more so that the Vanderbilt had gone away in chase of another vessel at the time.

As to the Coal at Penguin Island, that was no doubt awaiting a Confederate Steamer ; and it seems that no British Authority whatever was there to keep police of either shore or sea, and that the *Vanderbilt* was the only National authority to maintain either, according to International Law.

There should be a visible proof of Sovereignty on land or a properly commissioned man of war to exercise authority ; and failing such, Captain Baldwin was the only competent party to deal with outlaws or suspected persons ; and it seems that the only people seen were supposed to be men from the *Alabama*, probably left in charge of the Coal.

Thirdly. But my point is that, having seen the result of the great outcry and threatening of war in the “Peterhoff” case and similar hasty ebullitions, public Journalists should be chary of

grievance-mongers and wait for the statements of both parties before attempting to arouse national feeling.—

The exercise of simple prudence which the absence of animus permits, will save a deal of mortification and much bad blood, and confer upon an Editor the credit for that astuteness which you bestow upon the undeserving

E. P. U.

Macao, 10th February, 1864.

Editorial of the Daily Press of February 16th, 1864.

IN the proper place will be found a brilliant letter from E. P. U. We are too happy to give him a clear stage without favor, not deeming it courteous to stand between him and the public in the due perusal of his remarks. We shall however review his letter to-morrow, being by no means prepared to allow some of his *dicta* to pass unnoticed and therefore negatively endorsed by us.

Editorial of February 18th, 1864.

IN replying to the very able letter of E. P. U. which appeared in our issue of Monday, we propose in the first place to expose what we deem the fallacious groundwork of his arguments, and then to attack his salient points *seriatim*.

He appears to be impressed with the deep conviction that the constitution of the United States, as established by their Independence, is a divine institution, which it is nothing short of impiety to sever. This is the error that all writers with Northern predilections fall into. It is not for the Czar, nor for any loyal Russian to judge of the Polish question—it is not for the Pope nor for any pious catholic who upholds the temporal power of the Pontiff, to judge of the movement to liberate Italy—it was not for King George the Third, nor for the old English Tories to judge of the American war of independence. And finally, for the purposes of our argument, it does not lie within the province or capacity of the devoted, patriotic, and aggressive North, to judge of the justice, gravity or tangible integrity of the Confederate cause.

The object of a rebellion is either to reform abuses and remove grievances, to subvert a government, or otherwise, to bring about a separation. Speaking historically, or politically, all rebellions are legal that are strong enough to sustain themselves; there is no crime in rebellion except the attempt to carry one out by insufficient means. They who rebel are the judges of their own cause, and it is sheer infatuation for those who are rebelled against to pass judgment on the cause of the insurgents.

If E. P. U's assumption of faith in the divine principle of the constitution of the North be correct, how can he reconcile the American rebellion, now called the War of Independence, to right and justice? It might be argued, that the American colonists had the option of leaving the country if they could not live under the laws as they were administered by the rightful sovereign, but that by no principle of right or reason could they lay violent hands on the administration, and oust the legal authorities by force of arms. The action of the South in the present war, does not go half the length that the American colonies went to in the "War of Independence." Then the existing government was attacked and ousted, all its property confiscated and its authority entirely subverted. At present the Confederates seek simply to separate, peaceably if they may be allowed, but otherwise by war to the bitter end. Their cause is not aggressive, nor do they demand anything but preservation of their rights.

We do not wish to compare the cause of American independence with the Confederate cause—nor do we wish to advocate the latter in the most remote degree. The people of the Confederate states are the judges of it.—That they have rebelled there can be no doubt—and that they have sustained their rebellion in a manner to entitle them to the rights of belligerents, there can be as little. Take the history of the world and it will be seen that rebellions are the safety valves of the people against absolute, oppressive, or inapplicable governments. To repudiate the right of people to rebel would be to revert to the days of the Cæsars; and to question the right of rebellions would bring us no further down than the days of the Crusaders.

Moreover, the cause of the South is not a myth. From the day of the Declaration of Independence up to the raid of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, it has been prognosticated time and again, that the question of Slavery would split the Union. So long as the

slave interest had a preponderance, this consummation was deferred, naturally—but immediately that preponderance was lost, slavery had to be preserved by secession.

Furthermore, judging of the Southern rebellion by its strength, it commands more respect than any rebellion on record. It has baffled three quarters of a million of men and a powerful fleet for nearly three years—it has caused the North permanently to suspend the *habeas corpus*, and to resort to a forced conscription—creating a Federal debt of two thousand millions of dollars and driving gold to 50 per cent premium.

But beyond all these powerful considerations, there is one still stronger. Namely, that whilst the Confederate States were being ravaged and convulsed by this great resistance, the civil administration was conducted in the most organised efficient manner possible. The refusal on the part of Great Britain to recognise the Confederate States as a belligerent power, would have been fully tantamount to the abrogation of all those principles on which our ideas of liberty are based, and on which indeed our constitution hangs.

So much for the texture of E. P. U's arguments. We need not venture on the justness of the Southern cause—we have no property in slaves; if we had, and if we felt that such property would become endangered by the preponderance of the Republican party, a "fellow feeling might make us wondrous kind." We limit ourselves to the fact that the Confederate rebellion has been sustained in such a manner as to entitle it to respect and consideration, and that its recognition as a belligerent power was inevitable. Now for our correspondent's salient points.

We fully agree with E. P. U. as to the mercenary character of the London Times. We are convinced that it never espouses a cause without a valid consideration, a rigid understanding. Equally convinced are we that it never condemns a cause without an unworthy motive or a tangible inducement. It is as unscrupulous in pursuit of its objects, as it is regardless of truth in either its praises or its invectives. It is a disgrace to the nation.

At the same time, in relation to the rampant *animus* of the Times, the Saturday Review, and other English papers against the Federal States,—we differ widely from our correspondent. We think the British people and the British press have been slow to anger in this matter. We have an idea that hatred and abuse

of England has been the leading topic of newspapers and politicians in the United States, for many years past. Investing in the aspiration in type, on the stump or in the *forum*, was certain capital. We are told that all this is superficial scum, and that a very different feeling exists below the surface. Faith then the surface is a pretty stiff encrustation, for we have never yet been able to get through it. Do we look for the reverse of the characteristic in the policy of the Union? Why that policy is actuated and controlled, not by dictates of diplomacy or statesmanship, but by hostility to England. The Monroe doctrine, the Mogel tariff, the affection for Russia, the policy in China, the interference in Japan, the ocean telegraphic scheme, are all impulses of the hostility we indicate. Do we look for this redeeming under-current in President Lincoln's cabinet? In the leading American firms in China? Where, where shall we find it?

We think E. P. U. is wrong to attack the *rampant animus* of the British press against the Federal cause. We do not go so far as to say that the British people are so well Christianised as to present a second cheek to be struck; but we say that with excusable frailties upon them, they have been provoked to the *animus* which E. P. U. laments, by the abusive epithets, the taunting sneers, the bitter reproaches, the frantic threats, which for years have formed the theme, of the United States press, stump and forum, and which in our opinion forms the guiding principle of every American politician of the day. The British people and press have been provoked to retaliate we admit, and although they have kept within bounds, they have retaliated most effectively. The anger of our cousins is simply ludicrous, E. P. U's. simplicity in assuming the indignant on the point, being admirable special pleading.

Our correspondent in our opinion errs in his deduction on the arguments of the Times in favor of united Germany. The Times argued that Germany should be united, to the end that it may be able to repel the aggressions of France and Russia. The United States have not Russia at the North of them nor France in the South of them, therefore the analogy falls to the ground and so does the charge of inconsistency. The United States are as large as Europe. Surely the Times never argued that all Europe should be united in one nation. We fail to see the smallest analogy of applicability in the remarks of the Times on Germany to the separation of the Confederate from the Federal States.

Neither do we see that E. P. U.'s. charge against the Saturday Review is much better put. The charge simple amounts to this,—that in 1860, the Saturday Review complimented the Republican party because it was adverse to the spread of Slavery in the territories—and abused the Democratic party for the reverse tendency and for hostility to England—whilst now in 1864 the same paper abuses the Republican party for continuing, what it deems a hopeless, endless, bloody, ruinous war; and upholds the Democratic party for seeking to stop it. Where is the inconsistency? Had the Republican party on the breaking out of the rebellion, based their cause on the abolition of Slavery, E. P. U. would be right—but they did not. They trimmed their sails to the wind and they were open to any offer whereby the security of slavery should be perpetuated, if the seceding states would only return to the Union.

E. P. U. says that in the Crimea, England fought for Empire. We say this is not the case. She fought for the observance of treaties, and for the balance of power in Europe. By no possible result could Empire have been acquired through the Crimean war.

E. P. U. says that the United States is fighting for national life. That we doubt very much. We feel more inclined to the belief that by continuing the fight in the manner she is doing, she is extinguishing her national life. There is a county in Ireland called Tipperary, where the people are so ungovernable that even now real estate is not worth half the price it would be in other counties. Should the North acknowledge the independence of the South, two neighbouring well organised governments would be the result, with slavery to keep them asunder, and with commercial treaties to make mutual intercourse profitable. Should the North subdue the South, the latter may become a Tipperary on a grand scale, as General Scott prognosticated, requiring 300,000 men to keep it down. Under such a state of things, no capitalist would invest in the country, and without capital the South would become a desert.

We hope that our correspondent's version of the Saxon's affair is correct. We agree with him entirely on the cargo having been taken from a Federal merchantman—also on the coal store being meant for Confederate cruisers. But we fear the territory is British and we cannot think that Gray's death was accidental. Capt. Shephard of the *Saxon* distinctly states that Captain Baldwin

of the *Vanderbilt* placed the officer who fired the pistol under arrest, and that all his fellow officers cut him. All the witnesses say that after shooting Gray, the murderer pointed his pistol at the victim, and said he was one of the Alabama's men.

Let us put our correspondent right about the *Trent* affair. We feel rather angry with him at the way he puts it. He speaks as if the British government had availed of the opportunity to make political capital out of the circumstance. An outrage was committed which at the commencement of the war could not possibly be overlooked, because had it been, such outrages would have become the order of the day. If England really were hostile to the North, she would have provoked a war out of the affair, in which case, the South must have gained the upper hand and the North gone to the vocative. But mark how England did—she sent a few batteries and ships of war to Canada—to show she was in earnest: she conducted the negotiations with the utmost delicacy, and she induced all the great powers to state to the Federal cabinet that she was right. The fault lay with President Lincoln—he could have declared the seizure of the envoys illegal as he must have known it was, and have ordered their liberation.

But Americans will not comprehend one thing.—We suffered so dreadfully by our interference in the last great European war, that we will interfere no more. We have had our lesson and a dreadful one it was. It may be relied on that England will study neutrality in this American struggle, above all things—and further that she never would have acknowledged the South as a belligerent state, because of the stigma of slavery, but that neutrality dictated it.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press."

MR. EDITOR.—I find your rejoinder to my letter of the 10th inst. in yesterday's "Press"; and although it commences with a gratuitous declaration as to what *my* Faith is, which I can characterize as nothing less than a wholesale begging of the question between us, yet it is conceived in such good temper as betokens the narrowing of the issue, as between ourselves, and so far overcomes the repugnance that I feel to participation in public controversy that I shall still attempt to illustrate some points of difference between us.

I shall do so in the words of others, rather than my own ;—not only for the reason that those are more weighty, but because of the general consideration that a certain reserve is imposed upon Americans in China in discussing questions which, from the attitude of a portion of the Press, have become matter of controversy at home,—imposed by reason of our being a minority in the community and from the desire of preserving the amenities of good neighborhood with those amongst whom many of us have sojourned for years.—

My citations will be partly from English sources, partly from American, and to the substantial woof of the argument thus obtained, I shall add little more than a slight running thread of connective comment ;—the savor of an offensive intrusion of merely individual opinion being thus excluded.

But, *imprimis*, as to the first article of my political Faith,—of my fidelity to which you avouch yourself a witness :—I had not thought of renewing my vows before a foreign audience ; but since you do not impute to me a Hamilcar-like oath of eternal hatred of either the modern Rome or Carthage, and paint me, rather, as one of many millions of blind votaries around the altar of Union, I can have no hesitation in declaring my sincere attachment to the Institutions of my Country or my unswerving loyalty to the Constitution of the United States,—although I regard them with the temperate admiration of deliberate conviction rather than the imputed enthusiastic adoration which might be less enduring.

Heirs of the constitutional rights of Englishmen, reasserted and established at the period of the Commonwealth and preserved to them by transplantation before the lapse from the principle of mutuality between governors and governed,—arising from the lamentable reaction at the period of the restoration,—Americans have had the vantage-ground of an unobstructed career before them thence-forward.

Whilst in England much of the ground had to be retraversed by struggle upon struggle, the collective mind of America,—chastened and enriched, undoubtedly, in the meantime by the indirect influence of these travails of the Mother Country,—after passing through the purifying fire of the Revolution and the wholesome discipline of the probation period of the Confederation, was prepared for the full enunciation of the principle of mutuality ;—and the only halting in the practical enforcement of the fun-

damental maxim that all men are free and equal was in respect to the Slaves, whose gradual emancipation was then anticipated so far as to prevent their being named at all in the instrument, as such.—

I here find myself upon the confines of a very wide field of discussion upon which I have no disposition to enter, as I have before intimated; and hasten to say that I intend no comparison between the constitutions of Great Britain and the United States, but only to allude to our conjoint history to mark the initial point of America's inheritance of civil and Religious liberty and trace its transmission to the present time:—For, firm as my conviction is that the theory of the Government of my country is beneficent in the highest degree predicative of mankind, and that the elimination of the sole obstructive element already alluded to will render its practical working beneficent also, in a degree beyond any other system,—yet I have such a measure of respect for the well-considered opinions of Englishmen and so just an appreciation of the British constitution, as precludes any attempt to impair their faith in it.

Nor am I unconscious that in the opinion of many Europeans, Republicanism is upon its trial still; but if you add that it has been found wanting, I take issue with you there as upon premature assumption.

I declare,—I, who have spent a quarter of a century in China and become so cosmopolitan that some of my countrymen, who, albeit, thin-skinned themselves yet forget that very incisive weapons cut both ways, consider me too philosophical—too little resentful of national affronts—I, who but for these special circumstances could not be permitted so to speak to the people of other countries, declare the fullest confidence in the present generation of the American people, whose virtue and intelligence are the fruit of this system of Government; and hence confidence in the working of it, after that cancer in the body politic—Slavery,—whence poison has flown to the source of executive power for half a century or more, has been removed. Painful, nay, agonizing as the operation is, we know,—as in the case of individuals undergoing the same,—that life is the stake; and this the life of the nation.

It requires valor, fortitude, public virtue; but I say to you, as I say to men of every nationality,—so much of valor, so much of fortitude, so much of public virtue as you feel that your own

countrymen have and would evince, the full measure of each I ask you to attribute to the brave, the generous, the resolute, the virtuous American people.

So much, in denial of your imputing to me an unreasoning Faith, I have felt bound to say of the Constitution of my own country; and that I may not be misunderstood by the use of the mere negative as respects that of England, I here reproduce what I wrote of it when alluding to the polity of China (in 1860,) as follows:

“That the system of Government—the polity of China, when administered in integrity, was practically successful for a remarkable period of time, is true; and that it attained under successive Rulers, guided by the wisdom of the Sages, to a point of remarkable efficiency, considering the extent and diversity of the Empire, is also true;—but having reached its culminating point of efficiency several centuries ago, its inherent vices have since gradually undermined it, until there is, rather, a tradition and a dream of past greatness to form the slender thread holding Prince and People together than any real and tangible basis of authority. The bond between them has not had enough of the vital principle of mutuality in it and hence from friction has been weakened.

“Its theory appears to promise what its prolonged practical working has not fulfilled:—Although the gradual superstructure of ages, yet it was not, at any period, in the same degree as the constitutional Government of England is, the collective result of the exigencies of the people and Nation evolved in the development of centuries:—The compacted and consolidated whole wrought out and perfected, through inherent springs of vitality, by the improvements which prolong its existence by increasing its usefulness.”

Having rent the veil wherewith you so adroitly,—as it were by a stroke of legerdemain,—invested the minds of myself and my countrymen of the Northern States,—charitably including many distinguished though besotted personages, while leaving the Rebels without it, and in full possession of the faculty to behold with clear mental vision the merits of the question of the Rebellion,—we are now *vis a vis* to that question pure and simple;—but my authorities to be marshalled against your reasoning will also support my own in the foregoing, respecting the prejudicial influence of Slavery.

Regardful as well of your space, as of my own engagements, I shall restrict myself to-day to meeting the points you make justificatory of the Rebellion, though in terms you disclaim advocating its cause, by the following extract of the Oration of the Honorable Edward Everett delivered at the battlefield of Gettysburg on the 19th of November, which I found in a New York Journal on the 17th inst., most opportunely for my purpose.

"And now, friends, fellow-citizens, as we stand among these honored graves, the momentous question presents itself: Which of the two parties to the war is responsible for all this suffering—for this dreadful sacrifice of life—the lawful and constitutional Government of the United States, or the ambitious men who have rebelled against it? I say "rebelled" against it, though Earl Russell, the English Secretary of State for Foreign affairs, in his recent temperate and conciliatory speech in Scotland, seems to intimate that no prejudice ought to attach to that word inasmuch as our English forefathers rebelled against Charles I and James II., and our American fathers rebelled against George III. These certainly are venerable precedents, but they prove only that it is just and proper to rebel against oppressive governments. They do not prove that it was just and proper for the son of James II. to rebel against George I., or his grandson Charles Edward to rebel against George II.; nor, as it seems to me, ought these dynastic struggles, little better than family quarrels, to be compared with this monstrous conspiracy against the American Union.

"These precedents do not prove that it was just and proper for the "disappointed great men" of the cotton growing states to rebel against "the most beneficent government of which history gives us any account," as the Vice-President of the Confederacy, in November, 1860, charged them with doing. They do not create a presumption even in favor of the disloyal slaveholders of the South, who, living under a government of which Mr. Jefferson Davis, in the session of 1860-61, said that it was "the best Government ever instituted by man, unexceptionably administered, and under which the people have been prosperous beyond comparison with any other people whose career has been recorded in history"; rebelled against it because their aspiring politicians, himself among the rest, were in danger of losing their monopoly of its offices. What would have been thought by an impartial posterity, of the American rebellion against George III, if the

colonists had at all times been more than equally represented in Parliament, and James Otis, and Patrick Henry, and Washington, and Franklin, and the Adamses, and Hancock, and Jefferson, and men of their stamp, had for two generations enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, and administered the government of the Empire?

"What would have been thought of the rebellion against Charles I., if Cromwell and the men of his school had been the responsible advisers of that Prince from his accession to the throne, and then, on account of a partial change in the Ministry, brought his head to the block, and involved the country in a desolating war? What would have been thought of the Whigs of 1688, if they had themselves composed the Cabinet of James II., and been the advisers of the measures and the promoters of the policy which drove him into exile? The Puritans of 1640 and the Whigs of 1688 rebelled against arbitrary power in order to establish constitutional liberty. If they had risen against Charles and James because those monarchs favored equal rights, and in order themselves, "for the first time in the history of the world," "to establish an oligarchy founded on the corner stone of slavery," they would truly have furnished a precedent for the rebels of the South, but their cause would not have been sustained by the eloquence of Pym or of Somers, nor sealed with the blood of Hampden or Russell. I call the war which the Confederates are waging against the Union "Rebellion," because it is one, and in grave matters it is best to call things by their right names.

"The constitution of the United States puts "rebellion" on a par with "invasion." The constitution and law not only of England, but of every civilized country, regard them in the same light; or rather, they regard the rebel in arms as far worse than the alien enemy. To levy war against the United States is the constitutional definition of treason, and that crime is by every civilized government, regarded as the highest which citizen or subject can commit. Not content with the sanctions of human justice, of all the crimes against the law of the land, it is singled out for the denunciations of religion. The Litanies of every Church in Christendom, as far as I am aware, from the metropolitan cathedrals of Europe to the humblest missionary chapel in the islands of the sea, concur with the Church of England in imploring the Sovereign of the Universe, by the most awful adjurations which the heart of man can conceive or his tongue utter to deliver us from "sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion."

“And for good reason ; for while a rebellion against tyranny—a rebellion designed, after prostrating arbitrary power, to establish free government on the basis of justice and truth, is an enterprise on which good men and angels may look with complacency,—an unprovoked rebellion of ambitious men against a beneficent government, for the purpose—the avowed purpose—of establishing, extending, and perpetuating any form of injustice and wrong, is an imitation on earth of that first foul revolt of “the Infernal Serpent,” which emptied Heaven of one-third part of its sons. Lord Bacon, “in the true marshaling of the Sovereign degrees of honor,” assigns the first place to “the *Conditores Imperiorum*, founders of states and commonwealths,” and truly to build up from the discordant elements of our nature the passions, the interests, and the opinions of the individual man ; the rivalries of family, clan, and tribe ; the influence of climate ; the accidents of peace and war accumulated for ages,—to build up from these oftentimes warring elements a well compacted, prosperous, and powerful state, if it were to be accomplished by one effort or in one generation, would require a more than mortal skill. To contribute in some notable degree to this the greatest work of man, by wise and patriotic counsel in peace, and loyal heroism in war, is as high as human merit can well rise, and far more than to any of those to whom Bacon assigns this highest place of honor—Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael—is it due to our Washington, as to the founder of the American Union. But if to achieve or help to achieve this greatest work of man’s wisdom and virtue gives title to a place among the chief benefactors, rightful heirs of the benedictions of mankind, by equal reason shall the bold bad men, who seek to undo the noble work, *Eversores Imperiorum*, destroyers of States, who for base and selfish ends rebel against beneficent governments, seek to overturn wise constitutions, lay powerful republican Unions at the foot of foreign thrones, bring on civil and foreign war, anarchy at home, dictation abroad, desolation, ruin—by equal reason, I say, yes, a thousand fold stronger, shall they inherit the execrations of the ages.”

I shall resume the “thread” after Washington’s birthday.

E. P. U.

Macao, 19th February, 1864.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press."

MR. EDITOR.—Thanks to your Compositor's wits having gone a *wool* gathering with the *woof* of my argument, the "thread of connective comment," which I promised to resume, assumes,—either by textual analogy or textile affinity,—the elastic quality of *wool*, and becomes of necessity, a slight running thread of *corrective* comment in restoration of the intended texture ;—as in plainer prose here followeth.—

Thus, in the 3rd paragraph (of my letter of the 19th inst.) instead of "*wool* of the argument" read "*woof* of the argument."—In the 4th read, instead of "adorations what" "*adoration* which :"—In the second column, whereat I speak of the British Constitution, and quote my previous writings alluding to China, read "polity of China" instead of "*policy* of China ;"—a printer's error, by the bye the less excusable because the extract sent you was printed.

Other errors are of minor importance or are too obvious for remark.

But, in sober earnest, Mr. Editor, we have to deal with more serious perversions of texts ;—with a wilful, systematic and persistent damaging of the texture of the fair fabric of Peace, which—but for these sinister influences—would become firmly knit together by the loom and shuttle of a constant and mutually-beneficial intercourse :—

This, at least, even if we disregard the higher considerations of a common origin, a common language and a common heritage of Constitutional Government ; which should form,—as they undoubtedly do with great numbers of the British people,—a bond of sympathy between our respective Countries. Refraining, however, from generalities which may seem hacknied, and admonished to brevity of remark, as well by the restricted space of a daily Journal as by my own engagements, I shall revert directly to the simple requirements of your text, after one glance over the broad field into which the greater scope of the last paragraph of your rejoinder tempts me.

You therein say : "But Americans will not comprehend one thing : We suffered so dreadfully by our interference in the last great European War, that we will interfere no more. We have had our lesson and a dreadful one it was. It may be relied

“on that England will study neutrality in this American struggle above all things—and further that she never would have acknowledged the South as a belligerent state because of the stigma of “Slavery, but that neutrality dictated it.”

Mr. Editor, I had a similar fond delusion as to the salutary lessons of the great Wars of half a century ago; I believed that England was wedded to peace thereby, and absorbed in devotion to economic concerns,—with, for variety’s sake, a sufficing indulgence in sentiment and philanthropy in the direction of Slavery and the Slave Trade:—But found, to my sorrow, when she “drifted into War” with Russia, as Lord Clarendon, then Foreign Secretary, expressed it, that I had staked too much upon this implicit faith. And to what, if your opinion is correct, are we to attribute that feverish and insatiable disposition to a snappish captiousness regarding the affairs of other Countries, which marks the attitude of the “Times” and other members of the press, and so vividly suggests the figure of blood hounds in leash, scenting an enemy in every breeze and ready to spring upon any stranger?—

If we amplify this question by two others, still more pregnant; and in our groping, light upon the real cue to the answers, we shall gain a measurable satisfaction, though we may still be lost in wonder of the motives. These questions:—Whether the inspiration of this wayward and essentially selfish and unfriendly course is to be found in the baneful policy of expediency which has characterized Lord Palmerston’s career;—that fast and loose, hand to mouth policy that is wanting in all statesmanlike principles and the higher moral considerations and restraints?—Or, secondly, whether as regards America, it is to be found in an essential antagonism of principles,—that is to say, on the part of a portion of the British people, in a real distrust of the influence of the political example of the United States, not in an arrogant self-assertion and an unreasoning hostility?

In the former case, our resentment should be mitigated by the knowledge that the same policy is applied to Europeans and ourselves by turns, and that therein lies compensation in that the people of other Countries become estranged from England as justly as we do; in fact, I shall not much misinterpret the opinion of the most sagacious observers if I say that in the exercise of this policy England is her own greatest enemy.

In the latter case, we observe a remnant of the bigotry of

classes and the elements of a domestic party-question in England itself, which qualify an apparent hostility to us as a nation; yet have to deplore the non-application of philosophical principles to our relations.

Reverting to the former hypothesis, let two instances of the application of the policy of expediency in Europe suffice for present illustration, before citing its application to the United States.

1. As to Hungary and Austria the following extract of a lengthy article in the London "Economist" of August 17th, 1861.

"This is the way in which England obtains her great reputation on the Continent for political selfishness. When her own liberties are concerned, she is vigilant enough and thinks of nothing else than the best means of guarding them. But let the question refer to the liberties of another nation, and instead of judging the case as she would judge her own, the first question she puts is as to the expediency of the result for her own interests. If the answer to this be not favorable, she puts no further question at all,—insists on viewing the matter in a broad European light, and does anything rather than as she would be done by. Thus it is in the case of Hungary. Our statesmen think they see great danger to England from any encroachment of France or Russia on the Austrian Empire. They fear that such an encroachment would follow, if once Austria were weakened by the loss of Hungary. And seeing this, to all deeper and ulterior questions they resolutely shut their eyes. They do not *wish* to know that Hungary is really in the right,—is really acting with greater calmness, judgement, and moderation than even England in similar circumstances would show. For to know this would force them to lend her some sympathy and moral aid. They do not wish to lend her any moral aid, because they fear the *results* of her success. Can we complain that Continental politicians are never weary of denouncing our selfishness,—our different standards of approbation and disapprobation, according as our interests vary?—can we complain that they taunt us with loving Freedom only on self-interested grounds? We deserve such reproaches. We look on with perfect indifference at one of the noblest struggles which the world has ever seen,—only observing in a quiet aside to the tyrannical Government which is involved in it, that we hope she will soon be strong and united;—could we say in more explicit terms, "Go in and win?" We cannot but hope that the perusal of M. Deak's

address, and the report of the demeanor of the Diet in passing it, will awaken the conscience of the country, and rouse some of our better statesmen into a world of warm sympathy and admiration."

2. As to the Emperor of the French after the Peace of Villa Franca.

NAPOLEON'S LETTER.

"The French Emperor has just given to the world another illustration of his sagacity and of his magnanimity. His forbearance toward England since the peace of Villafranca, has excited the wonder of all disinterested beholders. The press of Great-Britain led on by the London Times, has not ceased to visit him with unmeasured abuse; and as often as the relations of England and France have been the theme of discussion in the British Parliament, has he been assailed by British statesmen, who have attributed to him all manner of ambitious and evil designs. At very brief intervals the English nation has been thrown into a state of excitement and alarm by the prophecies of their own leaders, that the Emperor was preparing to send an army across the channel and march upon London, which, by the way, in the defenceless condition of the coast and of the city, it would be a very easy thing for him to do. It was supposed that the security against such an invasion existed in a good understanding between the two governments, but the recent speeches of Lord John Russell, and of Lord Palmerston, have revived the apprehension, and seemed almost to make it incumbent upon the French Emperor to do something to justify the abuse which had been heaped upon him. Instead of this, he comes out with a frank, open-hearted letter over his own name, declaring that he has no purpose but Peace, and especially with England. Most cutting is the adjuration contained in his letter; "In heaven's name, let the eminent men who are placed at the head of the English Government lay aside petty jealousies and unjust mistrusts."

"It is very easy to charge the Emperor with insincerity, and to say that he desires to lull the fears of the English as the preparation for the accomplishment of such designs as have been attributed to him. We do not join in any such suspicions. We believe him to be sincere in his declarations. His course in the Italian War, to which he alludes, and especially in bringing the war to a peaceful issue, by which more has been accomplished for

humanity than could have been by its prosecution, has our highest admiration.

"We regard the letter, which we publish to-day, as another proof of his magnanimity. It was not demanded. It was contrary to the custom of Emperors to write such a letter for public use. There was nothing in his own circumstances to make it necessary. Had he been governed by the ordinary instincts of Sovereigns, he would have taken his revenge upon the English people by leaving them to their fears, even if he had no hostile intention; but with true generosity, he makes a noble offering to secure peace and good feeling between the two nations, and to promote the cause of peace and humanity throughout the world."—(*"New York Times."*)

At the period of general distrust of the Emperor in England treated of in the foregoing, I was asked, here, my opinion as to his Majesty's intentions, by a distinguished Lady no longer in China, by a British General, and by the head of one of the older British Houses; and unhesitatingly and emphatically declared that I had no doubt whatever of his Majesty's good-faith toward England:—the only disquieting circumstances being the inflammatory denunciations of him by the British Press.—

It is a happy thing, Mr. Editor, to prophecy aright; and thrice happy is it to prophecy Peace aright as I did on this occasion and at the period of the Trent affair. But the work of many Peace-makers may be undone by one malevolent anonymous and irresponsible writer.

3.—And hereat, Mr. Editor, I cite to you a memorable instance of the application of this policy to the United States, using for the purpose the honest and well-chosen words of Dr. Russell of May 28th, 1861, then the correspondent of the "*Times*," which he has supplemented by an article from the "*Evening Post*" of New York, as you will see; and to his full presentation of the subject I shall not add a word.—

"I shall fail in my duties as a faithful correspondent if I longer neglect to speak of the growing and, so far as I can judge, deep-seated feelings of regret in the popular mind at the manner in which England has received the news of the war. This sentiment began to manifest itself about a month since, when the public first thought that it perceived manifestations of a change in English public sentiment towards the South, and it has steadily increased

with each day. I hear from all classes and all sides bitter complaints against the Government—more bitter and more heartfelt than the passionate outbreaks which you will find in the newspapers—complaints that the Government hastened, on the first news of war, to give to rebels the support even of a proclamation of neutrality, recognizing them as entitled to equal countenance and consideration with this government, which has long been on such friendly terms with the people of England. Why, it is asked by such persons, does the British Government meet the United States, contending with persons in rebellion to extend the domain of Slavery, with a different and harsher policy than it had for Austria contending with Hungary? What has the United States done that England should welcome its disintegration? How would England have received a proclamation of neutrality when Ireland or India rebelled? Why, then, has the British Cabinet made such hot haste to give a *status* to rebels here? As I have already said, this feeling is deep-seated, wide-spread, and threatening. I can only speak, from my own knowledge, of the feeling in the city of New York; but I hear the same accounts from all parts of the interior. I can speak positively about New York, that the public mind is, however unjustly, rapidly becoming possessed of the idea that England sympathises with Southern Slavery in its attacks upon the institutions of this country; and that, under this apprehension or misapprehension, the good and kindly feeling which three generations of peaceful and friendly relations have created, are vanishing away. Indeed, whatever may be the fate of the rebellion, whether successful or a failure, and no matter what may be hereafter said in England when the relative strength of the two parties is better known, I fear that it will be long before the hearty admiration—one might almost say affection—for England that existed throughout the North two months since, will be restored. I find in the *Evening Post* of to-day an article on this subject, which is so much more moderate than those of the other journals that I enclose it in connexion with what I have said:—

“According to the law of nations the Government of Great Britain has done only what it has the right to do. It is the sole judge, for its own purposes, of the *status* of persons in rebellion against a legitimate Government. Whenever, in its opinion, the rebels are a society entitled to the rights of war against its enemy, it may assume a neutral position, and is then bound, as a neutral

Power, to allow impartially to both parties the free exercise of those rights which war gives to public enemies against each other."

"There is, therefore, no actual wrong committed by the British Government against the United States; but that the position which England thus assumes is ill-advised it is not difficult to see. For a quarter of a century the two nations have been growing closer and more mutually dependent friends. Whatever the English people may have said or thought of us, nothing is plainer than that our people have looked with growing admiration at the brave stand of England in Europe, for liberty. Foreign writers have assured us again and again that the liberal policy of England in continental Europe was only a measure of annoyance to her rival Powers, and that when she encouraged Garibaldi in Italy or defended Turkey against Russia she was moved simply by considerations of interest and not principle. But we have denied the imputation, and our people have been firm in the belief that Great Britain was strong because she was right, and that she was successful because she acted not from ambitious expediency, but from principle. It is not too much to say that a goodly part of England's strength has laid in this conviction, that she was a great moral Power. It ranged the best sentiment of the world on her side. It made her strong in the love and confidence of all who believe that nations are moral agents as well as men. It made England's welfare a cause of rejoicing to friends of liberty in every nation, and her disasters a cause for sorrow. And no more fatal blow can be struck at her strength than this which her present Government seems bent upon dealing.

"It is a mistake which will alienate from her the sympathies which she most needs among every people. The part she now takes is unworthy of her, and is a blunder alike in policy and in principle. She makes haste to recognize the "rights" of certain rebels, who have so far achieved absolutely nothing except by the tolerance of a Government which has been patient because it is strong. She boasts of an "impartiality" which is, in the nature of it, partial, and which affords valuable aid to a cause which she has fought against for a century. She proves herself forgetful of many acts of kindness received from this nation, such as our refusal to permit the sailing of privateers against her commerce from our port in the Crimean war, and the sympathy which she received from our people in her struggle with the rebellious Sepoys of India.

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"And, as a blunder of policy, she gives the cold shoulder to a nation whose sympathy and aid she will yet bitterly need, and ought not lightly to cast off. She has too many provinces to set such an example safely. We did not hasten to grant "rights of war" to her Sepoys, though their success was for a time more decided than that of our mutineers. But an insurrection in Ireland may, at no distant day, make it advisable for us to grant "the rights of war" to her rebels there against their enemy; and what may happen in Canada, or in her West India colonies, where she holds by so slight a tenure, is a matter for British statesmen to consider.

"The warm sympathies of individual Englishmen we have, and shall have, no doubt. But the Government speaks for the nation, and in this case the British Government has committed the nation to an act so ungracious and ill-advised that this people and the world will not easily forget it."

This "thread" is sufficiently extended for one of your issues, and the third skein will soon follow.

E. P. U.

Macao, 29th February, 1864.

Editorial comment on the foregoing letter.

Affixed is E. P. U's. second rejoinder. We have perused it carefully and shall give a reply in due course. We find great pleasure in inserting his letters, and the more so, that we have pinned him to a line of argument which leads to direct issues on important points. And it seems to us, that we have driven him on to fresh ground, where we shall not hesitate to follow him. It appears inexplicable that an American should uphold his own Government, and condemn Lord Palmerston. Stranger still that E. P. U. should continue to insist that there is any analogy between the diplomatic necessities of Europe and North America.

Interjected Editorial of March 9th.

On our fourth page will be found a ludicrous effusion of that political mountebank G. F. Train, which we should say will amuse our readers. The contrast between the man's style and E. P. U's. artful, yet logical dicta, polished yet firm manner of expressing the same category of ideas, is decidedly instructive. We look on the

one as the Clown in the circle, the other as a theological lecturer.

The occasion of the utterance of Train's last was the "breaking ground" of the projected Pacific Railway, the Atlantic terminus of which is fixed to be at Omaha City, Territory of Nebraska. The *breaking ground* was solemnised by order of the President on the 2nd December, when naturally there were great rejoicings, and among the festivities, Train's last was fired off.

Editorial comment on the following letter.

At length the final skein of E. P. U.'s correspondence has come to hand, and will be found in our correspondents' column. We see that he takes offence at our having placed him in antipodean contrast to that mountebank G. F. Train. We shall illustrate our meaning in our reply. E. P. U. must remember that even extremes meet, and we shall show, not only that he and Mr. Train are actuated by the same aspirations, but are mentally influenced, in very different modes we admit, by the same impulses.

We think that we have just cause of complaint against E. P. U. It is contrary to custom to allow a powerful speaker to break off in the middle of his oration and defer the remainder of his speech for weeks. Neither is it the custom in newspaper discussion for the writer on one side to break off, and silencing his opponent by a promise to continue, defer doing so for weeks. Under such circumstances, potent yet ex-parte arguments are allowed to permeate the mind of the public, producing all the influence which they are adapted to work out.

This has E. P. U. done with considerable effect, and if he has not acted designedly in so doing, it is not for the lack of earnestness in the cause he advocates, which to him is the cause of patriotism. At the same time it must be observed, that should he have thus acted designedly, his faith in some of his own arguments must be shaky. In any event he must be responsible for any construction that we may select to put on his unreasonable delay.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press."

MR. EDITOR.—Some unlooked for *impedimenta* have prevented my taking up the third "skein" of the already rather lengthy thread of our discussion upon national amenities until to-day; and that I now discover a fresh gnarl in it is due to your interjection

of the 9th inst.,—wherein I might question your judgment as much as I do your taste in making me the antipode of Mr. George Train in temperament, and his fellow in political doctrines, by calling him a clown and myself a Theological lecturer,—whilst, if I am to attach any further meaning to the use of these figures, it reveals a divergence in our views of the subject before us as wide as unreasoning levity is removed from serious concern.

Although I was somewhat suspicious—from your fast and loose mode of treating some points—that you, Satyr-like had a malicious pleasure in blowing hot and cold by turns, I had thought, as I said, that the issue was narrowing between us; and considering that the essential points of the subject had been covered in my preceding communications, should have felt myself exonerated from more than the notice which courtesy enjoins of the tangible exceptions taken by you to my ruling,—adding thereto the acknowledgment that in international discussions, opinions honestly entertained and mere assertion of opinion when made in evident good faith, must be held to be good reasons in cases of misapprehension and misconception, although erroneous in point of fact.

Such would have been the simple thread of this “skein,” whose knots had disappeared by anticipation in my sanguine horoscope; but your interjection—like that first Gun in Denmark, reported to us soon after—warns me back to Warder’s Keep to put armor on and visor down.

Nay, in this age of reason, it does more and better than that;—it recalls me to first principles as the proper basis of international relations.

And hereat I see our divergent point lies, in the present, as it did in the former discussion about the Alabama;—your sarcastic banter upon the sober tinge of my thought reminding me of the radical difference then shown in our estimates of her commander, whose individuality, so elaborately painted by you, I have not sufficiently recognized before:—A difference to which you give point in a direction that I might well have wished you to take, by placing him in the Temple of Fame alongside of Garibaldi.

Enamored, indeed, must you have been of that Southern Goddess of Liberty which Punch * used to represent brandishing a Cat o’ nine tails over a strangely pale-faced Slave Mother with infant in arms, that you should place Garibaldi within her portals!

* By the bye, what has washed that high-colouring pencil so clean?

Would his heroic soul—as chivalric as pure—not spurn the thought of association with Raphael Semmes?

Let his own words, (though I cannot reproduce them here), repeated as they were in the liberal Journals of Europe, respecting the American struggle, answer with the clear clarion sound inhaled of the pure air of his own home;—and his happy dream of a united Italy replace the hideous night-mare that vexes Secessia!

Or say you that you meant the converse of this and claimed a place in the historical Temple of Fame for Raphael Semmes;—that Temple on Alpine height of the World's renown which stands over against the Temple Infamous?—A pedestal for him by the side of the Worthies of all time?—Yes, in your distorted vision his figure is no less than this.

You seem to behold around his head a halo of romance and glory and your fancy paints his ship as “in perfect discipline—a pattern of “a war vessel;—he is a Patriot, a Gentleman, a great Sea Captain,” in your eyes, “—and, next to Garibaldi, the Hero of the day.”

You might with more reason have compared him to Captain Kidd, who was scarcely more recreant to the principles of his own age; and the admirers of Paul Jones might have pardoned your suggesting a parallel in the career of that renowned Captain,—although it would have reminded them of the marked contrast between them as to the essential points of legality and personal heroism;—Jones not having sailed from France until after the declaration of War against that Power by England, and having always sought for the national vessels of War instead of avoiding them, to say nothing of his famous victory over the “*Serapis*.”—

Such comparisons you might rightly have made; but that you should couple with Semmes' the name of Garibaldi,—the man of all others of our modern era whose character is formed on the models of the ancient Heroes, is to desecrate it!—

What has Raphael Semmes done that he should thus feed on the manna of the Immortals?—

My letter of January 15th recounts his career: But,

1. *You say that he is a Patriot.*

The law says he is doubly a Traitor:—A Traitor to the Government of the United States both as a Citizen and as an Officer who has violated his oath as such; and a Traitor to his own State of Maryland, where he was born, whence he was appointed to the United States Navy, and of which he is still a Citizen.

2. *You say that he is a Gentleman, and has observed all national amenities and local regulations.*

Does his conduct in setting at defiance International Law and the Municipal Laws of England while living under her protection, or his subsequent flagrant violations of the Sovereignty of Portugal and of Brazil, evince the sense of honor of a Gentleman or the decorous conduct of an Officer?—

Or does his ornamenting his Cabin with the numerous chronometers and sextants of the Captains of Merchant ships whom he has despoiled, and his putting men, women and children into open boats on the Sea, under the Sun of the tropics or elsewhere, evince gentlemanly, not to say humane feelings?—

3. *You say that he is a great Sea Captain and a Hero second only to Garibaldi.*—

If to go prowling about the Seas in search of helpless Merchant ships, burning them by night to attract others; and fleeing from one Sea to another to avoid the National Ships of War, constitutes a great Sea Captain, he is one; but of a new order of greatness.

And he is a Hero, if his sole naval combat and exploit,—wherein, just after dark, on being chased and hailed by the U. S. S. *Hatteras* off Galveston, he replied that he was Her Britannic Majesty's ship———, whereupon Captain Blake of the *Hatteras* said he would send a boat on board of him, and in the act of doing so had a whole broadside thrown into his vessel by the *Alabama*, but continued to fight bravely against such a cowardly foe, although the *Hatteras* was only a frail ferry or canal boat fitted out hurriedly for blockade purposes and in every respect unfit to cope with the *Alabama* :

—If by such a cowardly stratagem as this, by which he sank the miserable ferry boat, it being his sole encounter with a national vessel, and in which his own suffered severely, he is constituted a Hero second only to Garibaldi;—

Then has a sense of chivalrous honor ceased to be a characteristic of Officers and Gentlemen; then, indeed, must the Heroes descend from their pride of place!

But this renewed glance at the startling juxtapositions in your figure painting is episodic; and I revert to the exception that you seem to make to the seriousness with which I regard the general subject of the relations of our Countries, to ask you if in point of

fact this very objection does not mark the difference between us, shewing that you argue from superficial indications instead of probing to latent principles of thought and action.

Why—Mr. Editor—there would be no end to the War of words between our Countries, until indeed it came to one of blows, if we went on charging each other with being the aggressor in provocation and from recrimination to invective, until our blood got so heated that all the interchanges of Ice and Yarn ceased to keep us cool or bind us to peace.

So far as these manifestations arise from misconception, so far as they are spontaneous—not factitious and assumed for effect,—they are assuring signs of a mutual dread of war, and like the first indications of a reconciliation between an estranged husband and wife. But with short-sighted perversity the Times and its coadjutors strive to enforce their theory of the danger of the example of republicanism and of the preponderance of American power, by systematic denunciation, whereby to engender national repugnance and check the tides of emigration and capital to the United States, although quite conscious as political economists and champions of free trade that they are illogically striving against irresistible tendencies and the spirit of the age.

MR. EDITOR.—principles are universal; and it is because the influence of a perverted medium is not only mischievous and detrimental to both countries, but demoralizing of the moral sense of whole peoples that the conduct of the Times and its fellows should be held up to reprobation.

What subject, then, than this which concerns the welfare of nations is more worthy of serious consideration?

You liken my treatment of it to that of a Theological lecturer; but I do not see what it has to do with Theology, save that ethics should be the basis of all systems.

The question in all controversies is who gave the provocation;—who of the two were most prone to War?—This, because it is the greater glory of our age that the naked ambition of neither Nation or Sovereign is tolerated longer.

Well, as respects the United States, this is very easily answered, since with neither Army or Navy of the least magnitude before the Rebellion, it could not have purposed aggression; and in point of fact I remember that Lord Palmerston had shewn such a disposition to take advantage of our unarmed position, by sending

large fleets off our Coasts, that our Minister in 1850 told him frankly that Americans were so much "chips of the old block" as to resent bullying.

But to bring this question to the palpable test within our immediate cognizance, let us regard the relations of the two Countries at the period of the rupture with the South, and trace the rise of the War fever in England to its culminating point in the Trent affair,—at which last I see you except my ruling.

What, then, was the state and tendency of feeling in the two Countries toward each other at that period?

Although the cautiousness of the Times was still vigilant enough to give zest to any of the minor questions arising from contact at home or in these distant Countries, as you may be reminded by the herewith letter that I wrote in 1859, (which I leave to you to attach at foot or not, in illustration, as you please,)—its influence for evil had been so far neutralized or its temper mollified by the force of circumstances and the course of events, that unquestionably the general aspect of the relations of the two Peoples was friendly; and so far as the Northern States were concerned these pleasing relations had recently been cemented by the cordial reception given to the Prince of Wales;—the only stain upon this burnished shield of our national courtesy—let it be scornfully marked here—having been inflicted by one of the devotees around that Temple Infamous wherein stands a pedestal for Raphael Semmes.

Of this state of feeling the letter of Dr. Russell, the Correspondent of the Times and the thoughtful statement which he quoted from the New York Evening Post, incorporated into my letter of the 29th ulto., convincingly certify; but I now introduce one of the highest local authorities in China, whose testimony is emphatically to the same effect.

I allude to the Lord Bishop of Victoria (Hongkong) who, in going to England a few years ago on a visit, proceeded hence to California and thence though the most of the United States wherein he spent some time, and during his sojourn addressed the annual Convention of the Episcopal Church at New York, in 1860, the Bishops of several of the States and a very large concourse of Clergymen and other citizens being present, as follows:—

"The Bishop of VICTORIA, in rising to address the Convention, made a few preparatory remarks in grateful acknowledgment of the kind invitation of their respected Bishop, and the courtesy of

the Christian brethren then present in voting him an honorary seat in their Convention. He had everywhere observed the most gratifying proofs of the respect, friendship and good feeling which animated the citizens of the United States towards the mother country. In every railway-car, and on board every steamboat in their magnificent rivers, an Englishman was received with marked interest and respect, and an English clergyman met universal cordiality and welcome. In the profound and even affectionate veneration of Americans for the virtuous qualities and exalted character of the British Queen, in the deep and thrilling tones of cordial interest with which they welcomed to the American shores that young man, that Royal Prince, who in the course of nature seems likely to inherit the glorious dignities and weighty responsibilities of the British crown, and for whom, he doubted not, many prayers were offered up by Christians on this continent, he read plain and palpable signs of this wide-spread mutual friendship and feeling of international sympathy and esteem. Still more unequivocal were the marks of cordial respect accorded to a bishop from the elder sister Church. He begged to tender to the Right Reverend the President, and to each member of the assemblage before him, his recognition of the welcome, and of the honourable attentions paid to the English Church, of which he was on the present occasion an humble representative. Among British Christians there was a reciprocity of this feeling of intercommunion between the two Episcopal Churches. English Churchmen viewed with interest the material development of the United States, the indomitable energy of national will by which the forest was subdued, the wilderness reclaimed, and their mighty continent was overspread with populous cities, and covered with its network of railways. But above all they rejoiced in the proofs of the growing influence of the younger sister Church, the multiplication of her churches, the extension of her dioceses, the increase in her clergy, and the vitality of her ministrations. One in origin and descent, one in language and laws, one in their common liturgical formularies of faith, one in their common maintenance of evangelical truth, combined with primitive order and apostolic rule,—both Churches were bound together by the closest ties, and formed two great bulwarks of Protestant Christianity throughout the world.”

And here I stop a day or two, as I find the disentangling process requires more space than one of your issues affords.

E. P. U.

POST-SCRIPT.

As I am not so brazen as to offer my old wares without a fresh burnishing or *japaning*, I leave to you, Mr. Editor, to include the following crosses upon the Japan shield of the "Times" among the illustrations of its characteristic assumptions, or not, as may please yourself, attaching this note in exculpation of myself from egotism, if you do so.

E. P. U.

Macao, March 22nd, 1864.

SIR.—The "Times," with a fertility of resource that almost anticipates public curiosity, has recently furnished to its readers a series of articles ostensibly designed to illustrate the present transition phase of politics in China and Japan preparatory to their induction into the comity of Nations; and the course of them has, with much bestowal of just praise of Lord Elgin and much omission of just desert of Sir Michael Seymour, launched arrows, not a little poisoned, at the American Minister to China;—whilst in generalizing its acknowledgments both of the courtesy and services of the American Consul General to Japan in a manner to ignore his just merits, it gives point to its own reflections upon the American Naval Commander in Chief by "smartly imagining" a fictitious basis for its inordinate appropriation of credit to England for the negotiations at Jeddo, to the relative disparagement of American diplomacy.

We regard not the China-won laurels of Lord Elgin with jaundiced eyes,—we rather rejoice in them as emblematical of the common gain of Christendom;—but if like a General flushed with victory in one field, he went to Japan to appropriate the spoils of a battle already gained by the moral intrepidity and persevering vigilance of our Countrymen, and in the height of his advantage displaces alike the early trophies of the indomitable Perry and the green wreaths of the patient Harris, that his own standards may fill the eyes of an admiring World, we shall deny him the possession of what we are fain to attribute to him,—that magnanimous sense of justice which is the characteristic of great minds.

We shall remind him that after Perry had—with consummate tact and resolute constancy—overborne the wall of two centuries formation, the first person acquiescent in its attempted re-erection was a British Admiral; and yet, that, by subsequent persevering

peaceful efforts, Mr. Harris had again turned the tide of civilization against it with effect and finally consummated the work so admirably begun by his predecessor,—so that when his Lordship arrived at Simoda it wanted little more to assure him of success than the assumption of a spirit of happy audacity and the services of Mr. Harris' Interpreter.

We pause, however, to say that we are very far from attributing to the Noble Earl the inspiration of these depreciatory "leaders" of the Times—so emphatically *mis-leaders* as they are of public opinion ;—his whole career disproves the supposition as his language in Parliament and on public occasions in America contradicts it, or we have widely interpreted the one and much misread the record of the other.

But the ever-vigilant "Times"—that with its hundred arms compels all the ends of the Earth to tribute, and that has become the World's Herald,—we would it were more cosmopolitan in spirit.

The change would prevent the exhibition of a deal of ill humor and much mutual recrimination, nay, it would tend to consolidate the friendships of peoples and to conserve the peace of the World.

It is quite true that it plays such a deep game of "fast and loose" with America that we can hardly judge from the target of one day to what point the arrows of the next will be directed or how much poison their barbs will bear ;—thus ever tantalizing, even if sometimes amusing in the jaunty air of its effrontery in protesting innocence and transferring the blame of a quarrel to American shoulders, it is often rather the caterer to a morbid craving of reproach to republican institutions than the intelligent reflex of sound public opinion.

If it abuses its great opportunities and perverts its high mission as the leading Press of the World, let the Nations mark its course and the evil will sooner or later be upon its own head. At present it concerns us to rectify its perverted record of history in respect only to Japan ;—the questions between the two Legations, as to the action of Mr. Reed in China, having been left by the public discussion of it, in the "Times" upon one hand and the "New-York Times" on the other, in a state to necessitate the notice, directly or indirectly, of one or the other of the respective Chiefs.

First, then, of the *mis-leaders* of the "Times" of November

1st and 3rd,—which are so saturated with the unction of self-glorification that we can hardly make an extract of them that shall fully combine its essence,—the following portions may serve our immediate purpose of initiating inquiry into the relative claims of England and America to the credit of “rending the curtain of ages.”—

1st.—In the editorial of November 1st we read :—

“Fortune favoured the boldness of the enterprise, and American astuteness helped us. Lord ELGIN reached Nagasaki on the 3rd of August, and found no one there but some Japanese underlings and some Dutch officials, who naturally gave him small hopes. Thence he went, staggering through one of the tremendous gales that vex these seas, to the wretched harbour of Simoda, where the Americans are in power, and at this place he for the first time discovered the workings of the echoes of his own doings on the Peiho. It seems that as soon as the Tien-tsin Treaty was arranged, the American Commodore rushed off to Japan to take advantage of the consternation certain to be created by the first news of recent events in the Peiho. It was smartly imagined. He found at Simoda the American Consul-General just returned from Jeddo, whither he had been upon a six months’ mission, vainly importuning for some commercial privileges. The Commodore immediately took him on board his ponderous steamer the Powhattan, and steered right away for Kanagawa, a station well known to the American men of war since Commodore PERRY’s time, about 15 miles below the capital city of Jeddo. Terrible stories and frightful anticipations had for some time possessed the minds of the Japanese. Japan, like other countries of ancient institutions, has its conservative and progressive parties. The Prince of BORINGO had stood stoutly for the ancient Japanese constitution and no foreign competition. But when the American ship of war appeared, and when the American version of the warlike operations in China circulated, a strong feeling gained ground in favour of the progressive party. Prince BORINGO retired, and Prince BITSU took his place. Under the new Administration Mr. HARRIS, the Consul-General, was admitted to an interview with the EMPEROR: ports were opened, and commercial tariffs agreed upon pretty much as is set forth in the statement we borrow from the *North China Herald*. When Lord ELGIN arrived at Simoda he found Mr. HARRIS in high spirits at having completed this Treaty, and the pree-

dent gave him an opportunity whereof he sadly stood in need. We must here—having recently spoken in terms of complaint to our American friends for sending their silliest men upon important Embassies—acknowledge that Mr. HARRIS acted throughout these transactions with a frankness and courtesy worthy of the representative of a great friendly Power. Mr. HARRIS acted like a man who was strong in his own knowledge of the interests of his country. Lord ELGIN departed at once for the anchorage below the capital, where he found the American, and also the Russia war steamers. The neutrals had been quick to scent the game from afar; they had run a race against us to gather not only the spoils won by our arms, but even the contributions to be exacted by the terror of our deeds. Beyond this anchorage of Kanagawa were rocks and whirlpools and perils innumerable, all faithfully deposed to by Japanese pilots. Captain SHERARD OSBORN, who has the reputation of being confident, and not unreasonably confident, in his own seamanship, believed in none of these things. Steaming over the anchorage he held on up the Bay of Jeddo, and city, which slowly unrolled itself in the north-west angle of the gulf, he pursued his course, undeterred by a full gale of wind, until he could cast anchor within gunshot of a series of well constructed batteries, which run across the shoals facing a portion of the city. Lord ELGIN's well judged confidence in his captain was thus rewarded by a position which, considering he had to deal with Asiatics, insured his success. It was a bold move made at a timely moment, for he could have done nothing at a distance. Since Mr. HARRIS obtained his Treaty there had been a reactionary movement in Jeddo, directed by the independent Princes and hereditary nobles. They had ousted the Minister who signed the Treaty, and Prince BORINGO ruled again. But the apparition of the British steam frigates Furious and Retribution, intruding even upon the sacred seclusion of the capital, spread consternation throughout the camp of the obstructives. We made no menaces and used no threats, but we fear there was something like the pressure of a force which was not altogether moral put upon these gentle Japanese. Our excuse must be that if the Americans had obtained concessions upon the strength of the terror created by the roar of the lion it would have been hard that the lion should get nothing on his own account."

2nd.—And in the editorial of November 3rd as follows:—

"We don't stand exclusiveness. We hold that the world is

made for us all; and so we have gradually egged on and finally pushed our way close up to the City of Jeddo, through rows of junks, abreast of green batteries, and dropped our anchors where barbarian ship was never seen before. We took advantage of a panic, and did it with a rush. While we were concluding matters up the Peiho the Russian and American Plenipotentiaries were off with breathless haste to Nagasaki, to reap the first fruits of our harvest. They got start enough to get all they wanted, and give time for a reaction. However, Lord ELGIN was not far behind; and when he came up he capped the achievements of his brother Plenipotentiaries, and got for them more than they had ventured to ask for themselves.

"So, with the "Open Sesame," of a little resolution, we have rent the curtain of ages. Captain OSBORN reports that there must be a channel, and up they all steam. The mountain side opens, and European eyes rest on objects never seen before but on cups and saucers, and never to be seen, as many believed, till the consummation of all things, the Millennium, or the great mustering for the battle of Armageddon. Lord ELGIN went ahead; the bigger ships followed the day after; they bring a handsome present with them, which they wisely judge worthier to be delivered in the presence of an Imperial city than at a distant outpost; they come with peaceful bearing, except that they heed no signals; they receive the courteous Japanese officials with equal courtesy; but the spectacle tallies so exactly with the terrible reports from the opposite shores of China that in a moment Japan throws away its Palladium of perpetual isolation."

Now, what was this advance beyond the American and Russian ships lying at Kanagawa better than a imitation of Commodore Perry's similar movement and breaking the line of the cordon of Government boats when first penetrating toward the head of the bay of Jeddo?—What but an imitation so palpable as to suggest a comparison in favor of the moral heroism of the American Pioneer?

But we now purpose to deal with facts, rather than to suggest inferences; and proceed to disprove the statements purporting to embody the material points whereupon the "Times" so complacently—not to say arrogantly—founds the claim of the *roaring Lion* to the well garnered harvest of the *peaceful, philosophical, husbandman*, in terms which had they been used by our countrymen

would have run the risk of being denounced by it as the grandiloquent assumptions of American self-conceit.—

First, then, so far from it being “smartly imagined” by the American Commodore that by *rushing* from the Pei-ho a new Treaty might be wrested from the terrors of the Japanese, inspired by the Lion’s roaring in that river, we have it from the highest authority :—

1st.—That His Excellency the Commodore had not the most remote idea that Mr. Harris or our Government contemplated a new Treaty with Japan ;—that he went there under an express order of the Navy Department and for a totally different purpose.

2nd.—And most material :—that Mr. Harris had concluded his Treaty long prior to Commodore Tatnall’s arrival at Simoda and, if not prior to, near the period when Lord Elgin left Shanghai for the Pei-ho, in April.

For some political reason of a domestic character, prospective date was affixed to the Treaty, which was the 1st of September, copies being held by the respective parties and a sub and secret Treaty signed and sealed by all the parties binding them to the execution of the main Treaty on the day of its date. Both had been concluded long before Commodore Tatnall reached Simoda and long before the movements in the Gulf of Pechili.

It will be seen, therefore, that we must attribute to the favorable impressions left by Commodore Perry and the diplomatic ability of Mr. Consul-General Harris, rather than to the echo of the Guns of the British Fleet at the Pei-ho, the effectual opening-up of Japan.

Undoubtedly upon reading the two Treaties at Simoda, the Commodore suggested an earlier public execution of the main one than had been designated, in view of the not improbable visits of other Negotiators and the consequent possible questioning of Mr. Harris’ claim to priority ; and, accordingly, he conveyed the Consul-General to Kanagawa, where in his presence the main Treaty was fully executed by both parties, the prospective date erased and that of the day—July 29th 1858—substituted,—when the sub or secret Treaty was destroyed, also in presence of Commodore Tatnall.

But beside these Treaties, Mr. Harris had another tangible proof of his success in inspiring confidence and good-will in the first real autograph of the Emperor himself that ever left Japan—it

being an autograph letter to the President of the United-States actually signed by the Emperor; whereas others had been signed only by the Ministers.

It would, we think, be difficult to find in the contemporary reflections of any other periodical of the day so many *smart imaginings* to the disparagement of another Nation's claims as are ingeniously—not to say disingenuously—set before the World in these two editorials of the leading Journal of Christendom—from whose columns are hereafter to be culled the materials of History,—save the mark!

We are,

Sir,

With apologies for so considerable a trespass upon your space,

Your obedient Servants,

SEVERAL AMERICANS.

January, 31st 1859.

Macao, 22nd March, 1864.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press."

MR. EDITOR,—My letter of the 22nd closed with a felicitous sketch by the Lord Bishop of Victoria of the happy intercourse of the British and American people in 1860; and as the previously presented touches of those able limners Dr. Russell of the Times and Mr. Bryant of the New York Evening Post may be taken as the fuller embodiment and expression of the subject, we have a complete picture of the relations of the two Countries at the moment when sinister shadows began to fall across it.

Whence came these shadows and what measure of evil did they portend?—

These were the questions which every thoughtful Englishman, as every American, asked himself.

Who shall doubt now,—on regarding the whole scene retrospectively,—that primarily and essentially their origin is to be found in the habitual policy of expediency, to which I have already alluded, whereof Lord Palmerston is the exponent and 'Stands Challenger 'gainst all the World for its perfection'?

A policy, of which I will only say,—since I will not presume to “carry the War into Africa,”—that, as directed toward America, it thrives but fitfully upon fallacies, and is destined in the future as in the past to betray its adherents, sooner or later, in despite of the splendid Imperial power behind it,—since nothing can compensate the loss of moral force.—

Nothing is clearer than that the British Government made unseemly haste, if it did not assume a dominating spirit, in recognizing the Rebels as belligerents before the arrival of His Excellency, Mr. Adams in London;—nothing clearer than that Her Majesty’s Ministers regarded rather the relative military progress and prospects of the contending forces than the fundamental principles at stake, as the rule of their conduct.—

And it is equally clear that these precedents are fraught with a retributive power of harm to England that will vindicate in the future my impeachment of Lord Palmerston’s statesmanship.

The false step—as fatal for Nations as for individuals—once made required justification; support it must have,—factitious, if real would betray the cloven foot.

Hence one fallacy after another. At one time Mr. Seward was the inveterate enemy of England;—at another, the mob ruled America,—that terrible democratic mob “composed of the scum of Europe.”

And to these industriously disseminated hallucinations was added all the pent-up venom of the scavengers of the press, as anything savory fell in their way,—their appetites whetted by the fast imposed while their minds were held in awe by the magnitude of the impending struggle.—

What more cowardly,—more exasperating than this puny faith at such a period of national distress?—

Thus arose the dust found in the eyes of America’s friends in England when the Trent affair occurred. Fortunately, the most natural action on such occasions is to rub the eyes, for soon through all this baneful dust thrown up by the enemy the light began to appear and the truth loomed up,—as it always will after an Eclipse of Faith, whole and beautiful to behold.

And the reconciliation that followed was of the prompting of the heart of the two peoples, which down deep in its recesses always says “Let us love one another,”—but is constantly hindered in its strivings to reach the light, by evil spirits!—

I must, however, retrace my steps a little here to meet you, for though I reached my ecstasy by the most natural of sensational sequences, I have need to justify my elation by the testimony of impartial witnesses of the moral victory that America gained in the Trent affair.—

Witness, then, the following from the London Daily News :—

“THE SLAVERY PARTY IN ENGLAND.—Few things have excited more just and natural surprise, not only in America, but in the more enlightened countries of Europe, than the perverse sympathies and partialities which a certain section of the upper and educated classes in this country have displayed towards the rival parties in the great civil conflict now waging on the other side of the Atlantic. Every one who has looked into the question knows perfectly well that Slavery is at the bottom of the whole struggle. The actual policy of the Republican party which triumphed at the last presidential election was that of preventing the forcible extension of Slavery into the new territories of the States. While carefully respecting the existing rights of the Slave States, and providing ample guarantees for the protection of their property in the Territories, the Republican party refused to allow the forcible extension and establishment of Slavery in the virgin lands of the West. This was a strictly temperate, legal, and pacific policy, and its operation would have been wholly in favour of social morality and political freedom. The South, however, at once resolved that no check should be interposed to the forcible extension of its peculiar and accursed institution. In such a conflict any intelligent foreigner who knew anything of the English character, or of the history of this country during the present century, would have no difficulty in deciding on which side the sympathies of Englishmen of all ranks and classes would be enlisted.”

“The steamer *America*, which was to leave New York on New Year’s day, and is due at Queenstown on Monday next, the 13th, will certainly inform us either that Lord Lyons has left Washington, or that Messrs. Mason and Slidell are given up. The general intelligence by the *Europa* presents to us the picture of an extremely susceptible people in a state of high excitement. There is no room now for the distinction between the nation and the mob. Men of various classes and different stages of culture and experience are of course variously affected by it, but all are amazed and most are indignant. There is nothing in our just demands of satisfaction

for the honour of our insulted flag that can explain this, nothing in their matter or the manner in which they have been preferred. *But the real character of the proceedings of our Government has been obscured and perverted, not by their press, we are bound to say, but by a portion of ours, and that portion which loves to vaunt itself on superiority to the press of the Republic. The American people, as we see them at this moment, are under the maddening influence of all the malevolent assumptions, and all the vulgar taunts which some of our newspapers think they can employ, and yet preserve their title to be supercilious about the "mob."* It would be childish to look closely into the language which a people holds when it is almost delirious with vexation. *The Americans cannot just now do justice to our procedure. They are not calm enough to reflect that if the English people were as selfish and sordid as some of their journals, our national policy would have been very different from that of which the whole world is a witness. But we may learn how the relations of free nations are poisoned, perhaps for ages, when, as in this case, every art has been employed to make a just demand assume the appearance of a brutal aggression. Those who have been busy at this kind of work, as they read the Europa's mail may rub their hands with fiendish glee. If they do not gain their immediate end, if the present occasion of war is avoided—as the determination of the American public seems to make certain—it will be owing to the fact, confounding as it is to the calumniators of popular institutions, that the United States never had a Government so independent of the mob, because so strongly supported by the citizens, as it has at present, and because even at the height of an unexampled excitement the nation preserves its power of self-restraint. All the voices which reach us from America exclaim that every sacrifice must and will be made for peace.*"—(*Daily News.*)

And this from the London Herald as to Mr. Seward, from Mr. Astor Bristed, a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge in England.

A VOICE FROM THE NORTH.—We have received the following, dated New York, December 20th :—

"Amid the storm of English accusations which has fairly overwhelmed us, the most singular is the charge against Mr. Seward of wishing to involve this country in a war with England. Of all the strange delusions about us that somebody has put into your heads this is the very wildest. Mr. Seward is not a man to

declare war against the republic of San Marino. I presume there are few things in the world which he likes less than war. He ignored our civil conflict till the knowledge of it was all but crammed down his throat at the sword's point; and as to foreigners, his sole anxiety has been to keep out of their way, and keep them out of ours, and give them no pretext for meddling with us."

And these most valuable, because evidently well-considered comments of the French press.

(From Galignani's (Paris) Messenger of January 11th 1862.)

"Several of the Paris journals express their satisfaction at the *Trent* difficulty, and congratulate the United States on having acted with so much moderation and self-command. The feeling of our contemporaries inclines more towards America than England in the matter, and some of those journals even go the length of imputing to the British Cabinet a desire to fasten a quarrel on America on any pretext, however futile. Such a supposition we conceive to be completely unfounded, first, because England has enough to do at home with her manufactures and commercial undertakings to render a war anything but popular; and next, because the American nation is not one that any Power whatever would choose to encounter unless urged to such a course by some strong necessity. We subjoin a few extracts from the articles of which we speak, commencing with one from the *Debats*.—

"The outburst of joy which has taken place in London on the receipt of the news, and the testimony of which is brought us by the English journals, shews to what a degree England dreaded war, after having adopted perhaps too precipitately, the very system of conduct calculated to render it inevitable. England not only uses the language of satisfied national pride, but breathes freely like a man who finds a heavy weight removed from his breast. The *Post* affects a little coldness and diplomatic haughtiness. 'We hope,' it says, 'that this tardy reparation has been accompanied by the apologies demanded; but the *Times*, that echo of public opinion, treats the question of excuses as one of little value; and, being content to see the nightmare of a maritime war dispelled, is disposed to pass over them.'

The *Temps* expresses itself in these terms:—

"Honour to the Government of the United States as well as to public opinion in America! To admit the necessities of a situation, and to conform to it with a manly resignation, is a proof of

wisdom which is not yet very common among nations and Governments. The American Government, in releasing the prisoners, has doubtless done nothing more than apply the doctrines which it has constantly professed, and, at the same time, it wards off a great danger. To do so has not the less required great strength of mind, great moderation, and great command over itself.

We have faith in that strength, in that moderation, and in that self-command. If, moreover, President Lincoln wishes to crown his work, and restore to the incident of the *Trent* its true and general signification, he has only to solemnly consider the remonstrances of England as an abandonment of the old maritime policy of England."

"The satisfaction of the moment is for England; the real triumph is in every way for the United States, and for the cause of the freedom of the seas. The precedent is destined to be deeply engraved in the memory of nations. It has been said that the English Government hold in reserve other motives and other pretexts for war. That may be possible, but she can now be defied to make use of them, as public opinion would forbid it. Already divided, before the victory which the Cabinet of Washington has just gained over itself, public feeling will become unanimous. If we are not mistaken, a great change in favour of the United States is about to take place, not only in England, but in every country. This incident was perhaps necessary to make the Old World feel by what bonds the United States were connected with it. The South had considered the capture of its plenipotentiaries as equivalent to a victory; it will not be mistaken in regarding their release as an omen of its defeat."

The *Opinion Nationale* employs the following language:—

"The affair is now settled, and we may henceforth sleep in peace. John Bull and Brother Jonathan are at last reconciled, and we might perhaps give way to enthusiasm on the subject, if the insidious question: 'is the reconciliation sincere? did not suddenly present itself to our mind. We should hesitate to answer in the affirmative. The Federal Cabinet has made a concession for which it must have felt great repugnance, but it saw all the danger of plunging into a war with England under present circumstances. It has therefore swallowed the affront, but feels it too keenly to pardon England for inflicting it. The fire smoulders; some day or other, we shall see the flames burst forth.

But is England, which has obtained so great a triumph for her self-love, satisfied with it, after all? The fact is open to doubt. The British Cabinet is suspected, not without some plausible grounds, of wishing to force a war upon the United States; and the language of the principal English journals would almost induce us to suppose that the liberation of Messrs. Mason and Slidell has in reality caused disappointment rather than pleasure."

The following is from the *Siecle* :

"The despatches which announce the favourable solution of the conflict between England and the United States, have produced general satisfaction in Paris. The prospect of a war which would necessarily lead to the most serious complications, would fill with mourning all those who, like us, would wish to see all nations proceed regularly and unshackled towards liberty and prosperity. In accepting the consequences of the act of Captain Wilkes, the Cabinet of Washington would have uselessly compromised the future of the two hemispheres and the cause of the American Union. To yield under such circumstances is, on its part, a proof of strength rather than of weakness. It renders homage to the principles which it has itself defended for so many years, and yields to the wishes expressed so unanimously by the European Governments. All had adopted the arguments so clearly developed by M. Thouvenel; all condemned the conduct of the Commandant of the *San Jacinto* as contrary to the law of nations; but what is remarkable is that no power, in presenting considerations on an isolated fact, called in question the good faith, the intelligence, and the patriotism of the Government of the American Republic. It has rallied round it sympathies which were about departing; and Messrs. Mason and Slidell set at liberty by its orders, may, without danger to it resume their voyage to Europe."

Well, Mr. Editor, is this result of the "Trent" affair a triumph for the policy of expediency?

That policy which, I repeat, has held its adherents to the superficial view of the American question,—to regard its incidents instead of piercing to its latent elements; that—until a recent period—rested ostensibly and avowedly upon the course of events, but which, at the same time, assisted in shaping those events;—that policy which shuts the mouth of England so far as America is concerned, whenever Ireland or India awake from their lethargy?

Nay,—it was anything else than such a triumph ; and so much better was it, that we may mutually rejoice in it as affording by its wholesome lessons fresh safeguards of peace.—

And, on the other hand, how—in the face of this temporising and vacillating policy,—has principle vindicated itself through the whole struggle ;—how, step by step, has all extraneous matter been eliminated by the sheer force of principle ; and how marked the moral lesson taught by the attitude of sublime patience maintained by the suffering Operatives of Lancashire in spurning the temptation to outcry against the blockade of the Cotton ports.

Mr. Editor, it has been well said that sympathy is the universal solvent. These men and women of toil are compelled by suffering to look beyond the surface. Finally, it was by this sheer force of principle that both, the sinister influences of the enemies of America and the economic Colossus, that bestrides the three Islands with almost superhuman power, were overcome ; and it will be by the same force that the Rebels will be humbled in the dust, and not by the will of the Northern people, mighty as that is.

Already, the “Richmond Whig” of December announces the retributive wave’s flow, in declaring that “*Slavery has stabbed itself to death !*”

Let it be the glory of England as it is already the proper glory of many of her Sons, that she strove against this combined power of evil,—of private cupidity and of material interest, and conquered.—I am &c.

E. P. U.

Macao, 26th March, 1864.

Editorial of the “Daily Press,” of April 4th, 1864.

WE ONCE knew a man who invariably prognosticated that every person introduced to him in the way of business was a sinister looking rogue. It naturally eventuated that he was sometimes right, when he never failed to exclaim to his partner, “did I not tell you” &c. &c. ?

Now on the same principle, our correspondent E. P. U., following the dictates and aspiration of his own mind, always cries “peace” to every squall that appears on the political horizon, and as he also must necessarily be sometimes right, he too lays claim to the gift of prophecy.

Want of space prevents the possibility of our replying in full to E. P. U. in our present issue ; by way of paving the way for our reply we have two remarks to make ; one is that we repudiate *in toto* our correspondent's claim to the gift of prophecy, and by way of argument, for egotism is not one of our failings, we claim the gift ourself. The other remark is this :—We denounce E. P. U's. practice of clipping garbled extracts from the entire range of the French, English, and United States Press so as to suit his purpose and support his arguments. Why we will give it as our conviction that any idea, however impracticable, every argument however fallacious, any opinion however outrageous and absurd, may be supported by the same means. If E. P. U. only put forward such garbled extracts as ideas, and supported them by his own arguments, his attachment to veracity would be developed to the same extent as his *amor patriæ* ! But the plan he adopts is to lay down *dogmas* and then, giving one of these garbled clippings to support them, treat his argument as fully demonstrated, and go on to the next.

So much in our present issue in reply to E. P. U. What follows below in pursuance of illustrating the above remarks, is so decidedly instructive, that we call on our readers to peruse it carefully.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press."

MR. EDITOR.—A brief paragraph in your issue of this morning seems to imply a slight ruffling of the surface of the hitherto placid estuary between us,—as though that dreaded "easterly swell" of the Atlantic, to which the *politico-nautico* observers of America now give the character of periodic, had been impelled to these seas by some agents of evil, intent upon cross purpose ; and I hasten to pour upon the water so much oil as may, at least, disabuse your mind of the idea that you had offended me.

Complete silence would have indicated that ;—but being impelled by,—on the one hand—a desire to impart my own convictions to neighbors whose regard I cherish, and—on the other—an unaffected indignation at the perversions of that portion of the press which may be said to form the staple of consumption in the foreign community,—I have so little regarded my individuality as to become committed to discussions which—in their public aspect—are

distasteful to me. Moreover, I have had too many proofs of your editorial courtesy to permit a slight brusqueness of manner to be construed as intentional disrespect toward me.

It is quite true, as I thought I had made clear in my letter of the 22nd, that your interjection of the 9th seemed untimely and that consequently—although I disregarded its form—I hesitated to proceed in the order of sequence,—since, as it indicated your disposition to offer comment in *medio*, you had absolved me from any strict observance of controversial rules, and it seemed that you might again, any day, interject—(to use your own figure)—a Clownish exclamation to startle “Eclipse” from the ring.

You see, therefore, that the charge of causing interruption or delay rebounds upon yourself;—in fact, Mr. Editor, you could hardly be in earnest, or you incautiously left the ring to pick up a loose stone outside, which—like the passing thought of a mental athlete—proves anything but effective as you grasp it.

Against such weapons you will admit it is inglorious to contend, so that unless you again make a direct appeal to me upon matters having some connection with the root of our common ancestral—“*Saxon*”—tree, or effect so considerable a rally upon some position of your “Dannewerke” as shall recall me to a fresh encounter there, I shall refrain from trespass upon your courtesy in future.

But I am fain at this leave-taking, to ask you to give your readers an opportunity to judge of the conduct of those caterers who, like the conductors of the Times, consider “the truth too *rare* and good for human nature’s daily food,” by the following extracts, * by way of specimen, from the London and New York papers by the last mail.—Remaining much obliged by your courtesy, Your Subscriber.

E. P. U.

Macao, March 28th, 1864.

Mark the difference between truth and falsehood on a memorable occasion, both by correspondents of the Times.

“The “Thunderer’s” Correspondence.

A few weeks ago, riots on election day and the interference of the military were predicted by the correspondent of the London Times. The fellow deemed it necessary to maintain what little

* An important letter of the Correspondent of the *London Daily News* from New York, has been withheld by the Editor, as no doubt, too telling an exposure of the *Times* and of *Manhattan*.

credit he possessed by sticking to his story. So on the 18th of October he wrote to the Times from New York about the election in Ohio three days before. He said:—

“Mr. Lincoln and his advisers strained every nerve accordingly to organize or steal a victory. All the corrupt machinery of patronage and contracts was set to work in the cities, towns and rural districts of Ohio. “Greenbacks” were as the flowers of May, and to be had for the plucking by any man who would vote against Mr. Vallandigham. *Soldiers and civilians were alike pressed into the cause*; and what the promises of place, money, or advancement could not purchase, *the threats of the Provost Marshal were employed to extort.*”

The other correspondent was in Cincinnati on the day of election and out expecting to see a “row.” He describes his innocent experiences as follows, in a letter dated October 14th. He says:—

“The election is over, and the public peace has not been for one moment disturbed. I walked from one polling shop to the other yesterday morning and evening, visiting all the seventeen wards of the city. A posse of from a dozen to a score of policemen were stationed at the door of each of these places; but they sat down idle and listless, and all their task was limited to a little lazy chat and harmless chaff with some of the by-standers. I saw no crowd anywhere; voters dropped in one by one, and *interested persons on both sides*, took care that the operations should be conducted in *all fairness and legality*. *The public authorities nowhere interfered. I saw soldiers nowhere*; nowhere Irish bullies armed with formidable shillelaghs; *nowhere any attempt, I will not say to force, but even to solicit a vote.*

This last is the testimony of an eye witness who was rather disappointed at the absence of the expected disturbance. The first quotation is from a malignant penny-a-liner, who earns his pitiful wages by sending forward his regular budget of malice and misrepresentation. The one romances in his closet in New York, and swallows the marvellous tales of those whose willing dupe he is. The other makes his observations on the spot, and furnishes facts to balance the bold assertions and weak inventions of his co-laborer. The Times carries both loads, regardless of the truth of either, and anxious only to feed the flame of English prejudice and darken and confuse the brain of the bewildered

Bull. The letters from which we have quoted appear in the Times of two successive days."

Editorial of April 5th.

WE do think E. P. U. is hard to please. Is a public speaker ever heard in silence? an advocate ever allowed to expatiate on the merits of his case, without marks of disapprobation from his antagonist? Have we done more to E. P. U.? We give up to him our columns with pleasure, but we think he goes too far in tonguetying us for weeks, and disseminating the while views to which he well knows we are entirely opposed.

We desire to treat his present letter as the conclusion of his case. He clearly anticipates the castigation that awaits him. He may rely that his feelings will be treated with the same respect that he treats the feelings of others *i. e.* with the utmost respect and consideration. His views we shall combat heartily.

To the Editor of the "Daily Press."

MR. EDITOR,—I claim the parliamentary right of interruption, accorded to public writers as to Speakers, to rebut your charge of yesterday that I have garbled extracts to suit my purposes and support my arguments; and I call upon you to disclaim your insinuation that I have perverted the sense of the authors quoted, by now publishing the residue of each of the articles of which I had reserved portions, merely out of regard for the value of your space;—a delicacy that your publication yesterday of the lengthy effusion of vulgar twaddle from the notorious "Manhattan"—(not an American)—shews the misapplication of.

You are certainly welcome to these several papers in their entirety; and I am content to leave to the discriminating sense of your readers the question whether you or I have most observed the restraints of "veracity" in this case,—that is to say, whether I have in any sense or degree perverted the meaning of their authors to my own purposes by citing simply what sufficed to illustrate the immediate point in discussion in each instance, or whether you have again left the arena to pick up a loose stone outside, regardless of the dirt on it?

1.—The editorial of the London Economist of August 17th 1861 :—I here annex the admirably reasoned introduction of the subject of the expediency policy of England, the *resumé* of which, conveying the simple essence I used before as sufficient for illustration of my opinions (which by the bye I had published in 1860), and as will be seen with no purpose of perversion.

HUNGARY AND ENGLAND

(From the London Economist, August 17th, 1861.)

“The Hungarian struggle has reached its crisis. Both Houses of the Diet have voted—the Upper House of Magnates unanimously, the Lower House with only about six dissentients—M. Deak’s statesmanlike reply to the Emperor’s rescript, and voted it without waiting to deliberate a single hour. The reply has now been published both in Hungary and in Germany. It is received in Pesth with the feverish delight of expectant martyrs waiting for the cruel consequences which they expect. It is received in Vienna with a howl of indignation that pure rebels—for so the Germans think the Hungarians—should venture to embody their rebellious resolutions in an address to the Crown. Nothing can be abler than the reply. M. Deak denies the fact that, since the publication of the Pragmatic sanction, the Hungarian nation has ever acquiesced in any but the *personal* union with Austria,—that it has ever resigned for a moment its right to control taxation and the movements of its own Diet and Ministry. It declines absolutely to do so. Where it to recognise the Decrees of October and February last, summoning Hungary to send members to the Council of the Empire, it would abandon for ever its historical ground:—and for whom? For one who has for the last ten years never hesitated at any breach of the Constitution which would serve his purpose. Such conduct would be madness. The Hungarians, in their respectful but strong answer to the Emperor, simply say that they cannot and will not abandon their historical rights for any threat of suffering,—that for a time of great suffering they are fully prepared,—but that the constitutional liberties of their country are not so exclusively the property of the present Diet or generation that they can venture to dispose of them. “If it be necessary to suffer,” concludes this noble document, “the nation will suffer, in order to preserve for a later generation the

constitutional freedom it inherits from its forefathers. It will suffer without despondency, even as its ancestors suffered and endured in defence of the rights of the country. For that which power and force take away, time and favourable circumstances may again restore, but the recovery of that which the nation itself out of fear of suffering should abandon, would ever be difficult and doubtful. The nation, then, will suffer with patience, hoping for a brighter future and confiding in the justice of its cause."

These are words which ought to find an echo in every Englishman's breast ; but how does England receive them ? Lord Brougham and Mr. Roebuck have been already heard. From both of them came remarks on the value of the Austrian Empire,—on the necessity of supporting and strengthening it,—on the noble course which the Emperor has pursued in granting representative institutions to the various provinces of the Empire,—and, by implication, obviously calling upon Hungary to submit. We must say we regard it as a reproach to England that her statesmen,—her liberal statesmen,—and her liberal members of Parliament, harp perpetually on this chord. Grant the full truth of it. Grant, for the sake of argument, that it may be truly desirable for Europe,—which we are not in fact at all prepared to admit,—to consolidate the different provinces of the Austrian Empire into a more perfect unity. Grant, too,—which is another inadmissible admission,—that the thing is feasible as well as desirable. What of this ? Is England really incapable of viewing the Hungarian question from any point of view but this of political expediency ? Is it absolutely beyond the possibility of our insular thought to consider what England would think it right to do in the same position,—whether she would sacrifice all her own historical liberties for considerations of European expediency and balance of power,—whether she would think for a moment of such matters or deem them worthy of any comparison with her duty to herself ? And if, as we feel no doubt, England would be absolutely certain to claim a far higher importance for her duty to herself than for any expediency considerations affecting Europe at large,—is it creditable to our statesmen that they are so utterly blind to the same considerations on behalf of Hungary, as not only to withhold every sign of English sympathy from a nation that is assuming towards the Emperor an attitude for which the only parallel is to be found in our own English history, but also to say what is calculated, and perhaps even intended,

to encourage Austria in her onslaught on Hungarian rights? Lord Palmerston, Earl Russell, Mr. Gladstone, have each in succession taken pains to explain to Parliament, that while they regret to see Austria still in Venetia, they would regret to see any risk to her Empire North of the Alps, and that they hope the differences between the Imperial Crown and Hungary may speedily be accommodated,—a wish that can have but one meaning. What right we have thus to judge the most strictly constitutional and historical struggle of modern times on principles such as these, we are quite unable to see. The right of Italy to constitute herself into a great nation is morally valid; but neither morally nor constitutionally is it near as indisputable as the right of Hungary to exact from the Crown the fulfilment of an express contract which every King of Hungary swears to fulfil.”

2.—The editorial of the London Daily News as to the inflammatory conduct of the partisans of the South in England, at the period of the “Trent” affair; and herein I think your readers will give me credit for a degree of moderation that the enemies of my Country do not shew, in withholding as I did, the most denunciatory portion of the justly indignant eloquence of the English Editor.

“Had the Washington Cabinet pronounced itself in favour of Emancipation it would have received not only the sympathy, but enthusiastic support of Englishmen at large. But there is, as we have said, one striking exception to this unanimity of sentiment. The feeling of the clubs, and of the more exclusive aristocratic circles, is notoriously in favour of the Slave States, and they have left no means untried to provoke war with the North, in order that the active help and assistance of this country may be secured for the South. This pro-slavery party have nothing but words of scorn, reproach, and detestation for the North. The leaders and representatives of the armed and violent Secession are “all honorable men.” The pro-Slavery party watch their doings with eager interest, and wait with anxiety for the welcome news of their success. They commiserate the losses of the slaveholding South, and applaud with genuine enthusiasm the gallantry displayed by the heroic champions of the chain and the lash. These high-bred and educated sympathisers know, indeed, perfectly well that slavery lays the axe at the root of morality and religion; but “their tender, sympathetic heart is superior to prejudice,

and never fails to recognise in a persecutor a friend and a brother." Manners are in their eyes of infinitely greater account than morals, and a gentlemanly air sufficient not only to cover a multitude of sins, but to atone for the open and flagrant violation of every precept in the Decalogue. They practically accept the pointed definition which sharply defines the Southern aristocracy, "that he who steals his brother is a gentleman, and he who works for his living is not." It is true that the Southern party in this country have never yet openly defended Slavery. A weekly contemporary, who may perhaps fairly claim to speak on behalf of this party, seems, however, preparing to throw off this needless reserve. The *Saturday Review* contains an article the only meaning and moral of which is that Slavery is the best condition for the negro, is right in itself, and ought to be perpetuated. This is an advance in the right direction, that of outspoken honesty—and as such we give it a hearty welcome. The writer, it is true, considers Slavery in only one of its aspects—as it affects the negro himself; but we must do him the justice to say that he deals fairly with this branch of the subject. He does not attempt in any way to conceal the brutalized condition to which Slavery reduces its victims. But we are positively told that "the pressure of servitude blunts the moral sense of its victims to its degradation—the comforts of Slavery reconcile to its duration." His argument is, that whereas forced servitude keeps the negro brutalized and fat, while emancipation would probably make him enlightened and lean, Slavery is the better state and ought to be perpetuated. We commend the argument to the consideration of those who are disposed to believe that a high degree of intellectual cultivation is a necessary measure of ethical advancement either in the individual or the community."

3.—The letter of Mr. Astor Bristed which I quoted the introductory paragraph of merely to shew how absurd was the fallacy of Mr. Seward's personal hostility to England; and not as treating of the "Trent" affair, though the residue of it will now serve—thanks to your charge of garbling—to illustrate the general subject.

"That our Premier should give signs of backing out at the first growl of the lion was nothing surprising. I fancy he always gets frightened when he finds himself in a tight place—that is to say, a place where something may have to be done beyond talking and writing. But what did astonish me—accustomed as I was in other days when I used to take the English side through thick and thin,

to violent anti-English demonstrations on the most trivial grounds—was the general readiness to follow the Minister's lead. It is a striking illustration of the remark made in a former letter, how completely the events of this year had taken all the spirit of braggadocio out of the people. Wherever I went (except among the ladies, who—it might be ungallant to say for want of knowledge—were far bolder than the men) it seemed to be agreed that we could not afford to have war with England on any terms, and must, therefore, submit to the British demands, however unjust or insolent. There was indeed a small minority who advocated bolder measures. They said the British Ministry, either from political or commercial necessities, or ancient grudge, or all combined, had evidently for some time been resolved to pick a quarrel with us, that if they did not succeed in doing so on this occasion they would find some other, so that we should be only delaying our fate, not averting it; that if the desperate alternative were presented annihilation was preferable to dishonour; but we had not yet come to this pass. Let our Government renounce its position of a man sparring with gloves on against another hitting as hard as he can with his fist. Let us take our gloves off. In less than a month we can dispose of our enemies of the South. We have only to proclaim emancipation, and Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans will share the fate of Charleston. Such cotton as we cannot lay hold of will be burnt. When the British ships arrive to "destroy the blockade," as the *Times* boasts, they will find the Southern cities destroyed, nothing to trade for, and nothing to repay them, unless, indeed, in accordance with the new lights which England seems to have received on the subject of slavery, they should seize and re-enslave the black. Meanwhile, we can put to sea 2,000 privateers, and do nearly as much injury to English commerce as their fleet can do ours. But these persons were a very small minority. The almost unanimous opinion was that we must make a virtue of necessity, and wait patiently until changed circumstances gave us or our children an opportunity of paying off the score. One thing is certain. However this *Trent* affair may be decided, such an accumulation of ill-feeling will remain in the American mind that, should the present generation find no occasion of discharging it, it will be left as a bitter legacy to our children, I fear that the old traditional enmity of Englishmen and Frenchmen will be pale and colourless in comparison of that fated to exist between Englishmen and Americans. You will

please take notice that I write all this in complete ignorance of what the demands of your Government really were. Being merely a private individual, with no friends at head-quarters, I have no means of information beyond those open to the public in general—namely, the evening papers. Said papers came in while I was writing the preceding paragraph, and their tone inclines me to suspect that things are not quite so bad as they seemed, and that perhaps, after all, we wise men of Gotham may have been conjuring up some imaginary terrors against ourselves.”—I am, etc., C. A. BRISTED.—(Herald.)

4.—As to the articles from the French papers, they were sent to you in the original print of Galignani's Messenger, in their entire state, and any appearance of “clipping” was caused, as in other cases, by the necessity to unite portions detached in the original printing by the bottom of columns being reached.

Here ends my explanation and hence my right of interruption, which I have exercised with a sole regard to rectification.

E. P. U.

Macao, 5th April, 1864.

P. S. Macao, May 30th, 1864.

As yet no reply has been made by the Editor of “*Daily Press*” of Hongkong, so that I consider the discussion closed.—

E. P. U.

To the Editor of the “DAILY PRESS,”

Hongkong.

MACAO, 1st June, 1865.

MR. EDITOR,—By the form in which you call attention to the communication upon American affairs in your issue of yesterday, you seem fain to ‘damn with faint praise’—as “a very beautifully written letter”—what in fact deserves to be considered a treatise upon the subject,—so complete is it as a popular, though concise, elucidation of the principles involved and evolved.

“A word on the present crisis in America” is, it seems ‘a word in season’ in this longitude, although ‘the mind of the time’ is to a great extent educated up to the point of principle practically

reached in the American struggle. Long the blind led the blind ; —so long that believing Pilgrims had been way-worn and weary but for the stars of Faith and Hope that beckoned them on.

That your Correspondent, although not an American, has been an attentive and intelligent observer of it from an early period is fully avouched by his well-digested and well-directed words ; and even at this, the eleventh hour, I welcome his advocacy and acknowledge his friendliness toward my country.

In taking issue with him, you adhere to a line of argument that the logic of events should long since have driven you from ; and with what we can only characterize as the illogical incoherence of blind partisanship, you say that Slavery is wrong and yet claim for it the right to destroy my country's nationality to procure its own immunity from danger !

It suits you to ignore the aggressive nature of Slavery and hence to throw upon the North the responsibility of the War.—If your readers doubt the recklessly aggressive purposes of the Rebel leaders, the following few words of the Chief, Jefferson Davis, will remove it.

In February, 1861, Mr. Davis, while engaged in "firing the Southern heart" by making inflammatory speeches all over the country, drew, in an address delivered at Stevenson, Alabama, and fully reported in the Southern newspapers, the following pleasing picture of what was to happen if the North made an attempt to resist ~~secession~~ by force :—

"Your border States will gladly come into the Southern Confederacy within 60 days, as we will be their only friends. England will recognise us, and a glorious future is before us. The grass will grow in the Northern cities where the pavements have been worn by the tread of commerce. We will carry war where it is easy to advance, where food for the sword and torch await the armies in the densely populated cities."

And if others hesitate to consider this declaration of purposes a natural enunciation of the aggressive principles of Slavery, I beg to refer them to the philosophical exposition of its nature and needs by the Honorable Mr. Spratt, one of its High Priests, quoted by me in April 1863 in a paper then printed, but which has not yet appeared in your columns, as follows :—

~ The disquisition of the Hon. Mr. Spratt, although inspired from the extreme Southern point of view, forms no exception to

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the dispassionate tone which characterizes the other distinguished writers; and is not only remarkable in this respect, but also as being the most elaborate attempt to justify Slavery and thence Secession, upon philosophical and economic grounds,—if it be not the sole respectable publication there,—that the tremendous issue has elicited.

Indeed, the mind of the South has seemed spell-bound as if conscious of a moral paralysis, since the rupture of amicable relations.

Writing in February 1861, Mr. Spratt ignored all question of armed resistance by the Free States;—and assuming that the Slave Power stood unchallenged, save by the “moral sentiment of the World,” he declares, truly, that “*Slavery has been the vital agent of this great controversy; the contest is not between the people of the North and the people of the South, for our relations have been pleasant and on neutral grounds there is still nothing to estrange us; but the real contest is between two forms of society;*”—and then proceeds to make an urgent plea for the reopening of the Slave Trade, as a vital necessity of the existence of a Slave Republic or Empire.

Inspired, or rather besotted, with this idea, he adds,—“*I regard the Slave Trade as the test of its integrity: If that be right, then Slavery is right, but not without,*” and, further, records the prophecy, that the sure consequence of the inhibition of the Slave Trade will be “*another Revolution*” at the South.

If, then, we accept Mr. Spratt as the exponent of the opinions of the Southern Dealers,—and this is the only logical assumption of which the case, in its inherent features, is susceptible,—there is really no controversy remaining as to the origin of the struggle or the principles involved, nor any ground of presumption of a personal hatred or irreconcilable sectional hostility.

There is, simply, a question whether, on the part of the Northern people, there is a firmly abiding faith in principles which shall give them sufficient tenacity of purpose to overcome the passionate but half-consciously-suicidal antagonism of their Southern Brethren;—an antagonism hopeless of all save the glory of heroic devotion.—Hopeless, because they war against Nature,—against the principle of progress avouched in all her works. Society must conform thereto,—has need to renew itself; there is no standing still with Nations any more than with individuals;—not to advance is to recede.

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The Southern leaders are attempting Revolution without justification, for Revolution implies advancement,—the better conserving the permanent good of the whole people; whereas they purpose Revolution in the retrograde sense—in the interest of the few,—and such revolution has no moral sanction. It is, moreover, contrary to the spirit of the time, and wholly repugnant to the genius of the American people.

Can the result, then, of this struggle be doubtful?—Who can doubt that the ultimate result—whatever may be the impediments thereto—will be a step in the path of the regeneration of that young and vigorous race that has peopled America?^

Your Correspondent, writing somewhat in anticipation of the more recent and decisive triumphs of the Government forces, justly appealed to principles as the foundation of all society in expressing confidence in President Lincoln; and both Mr. Davis, the Executive Chief of the Rebellion and Mr. Spratt its Philosopher who, with their Coadjutors, stood so ready in 1861 to *challenge* the "*moral sentiment of the World*" now discover that it was too strong for them.

You will have seen that I never doubted it would prove so.

Yes!—they defied it in vain; but their implacable revenge has, nevertheless, sated itself on the vitals of the Nation!

Treason failed to rend the members, but it struck, at last, surely at the heart!

Your Correspondent was evidently not prepared for the last act of the drama, to which I here allude. He had seen the Southern leaders pursue the steady round of their suicidal career and when the circle was completed by that act of blind fatalism portending their defeat—the arming of their Slaves—he foresaw the end; and hailed President Lincoln as the worthy successor of Washington.

Little account did he take of that implacable hostility that is bred in the passionate Southern Slaveowner;—little did he think that the laurel which he saw prepared for Lincoln's brow was to be displaced by the palm!

But, that the shock of this dark tragedy, violent as it was, was not wholly unexpected—that some such deed was apprehended—the following extract of a letter to a Friend at Hongkong dated May 24th 1865, will measurably shew.

"I now turn to the latter portion of your letter, from which

I might well shrink,—so horrible are the sensations the subject of it awakens.

Would to Heaven I could share your hope that these heart-rending tidings were but the conception of some heartless and desperate Stock-Gambler—a very lunatic's wild dream of a gainful lie,—fraught as they are, if true, with our country's bitter sorrow and its burning shame!—But alas!—I seem to see—only too vividly—in this stroke, fatal to our two most worthy co-workers in the salvation of our precious nationality, the diabolical impelling power emanating from that “Temple Infamous” at Richmond around which the most desperate of Traitors with canting hypocrisy—impotent at length in battle—have conspired our humiliation and agonizing sorrow.—

Well aimed, indeed, was the stroke to reach the very bottom of the Nation's great heart!—

Lincoln and Seward,—the Depositaries of their Country's fair fame abroad as at home and of its fortunes withal,—the two arms of the Nation and its co-working brain:—Ah!—the devilish cunning that perceived all this—that demanded both lives as the complement of its fell purpose—made these tidings true!—

Would that we could blot this page from our Country's history?—No!—it is but the culmination of the raging passion of years in the black heart of Treason.—Alas, that men so worthy are the Victims—that sacrifice so great was demanded of us; but the more precious the Martyrs' blood, the more fructifying the Nation's future harvest.—

We sow in sorrow, but to reap in joy. To the indelible infamy of Treason is added the adhorrence of Treason's greatest crime. Hence, the public conscience shall be invigorated, and the latent strength of an educated and virtuous People be aroused;—hence, the Nation—chastened by its great sorrow—shall be pure-souled for ages!”—

I am, Mr. Editor,

Your Subscriber,

E. PLURIBUS UNUM.





THE VIEWS OF THE WRITER, as presented in the foregoing, pages were again enunciated upon the report of a special Mission in December 1865, as follows :—

EXTRACT OF A CIRCULAR *of the writer, of December 28th 1865.*

“The general aspect of affairs continues peaceful and reassuring in Europe and the United States :—For, although the special mission * of the Honorable Mr. Cushing to London avouches the serious appeal of the American to the British Government in behalf of the sufferers by the depredations of the *Alabama* in particular, it indicates rather a recourse to reasoning and deliberation—a trust in the moral sense of England—than anything savoring of impatience or peremptoriness : and we venture the prophecy that, so far from these claims resulting in estrangement between the two Countries, the discussions conducted by the eminent men who will act as commissioners in conjunction with Mr. Cushing will eventuate in a cordial reciprocal recognition of the rights and duties of the two Nations.

Before this result is reached there may be some halting in the negotiations : but the moral sense of the two Peoples is coincident, —and, overbearing all obstacles, it will bring the discussions to the point of perfect concord.”

* This alludes to a rumour of that moment.

POSTSCRIPT.

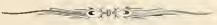
August, 23rd 1869.

In now printing a second edition of the foregoing Papers it seems worth while to note here the tendency of opinion in both England and America to the point originally made by the writer, distinguishing the case of the Alabama from the question of general liability. That this was the pre-requisite of a friendly settlement seems now conceded in both Countries. * The principle of responsibility thus recognized and its limits defined, it will, nevertheless, be an obvious stroke of policy on the part of the Statesmen of England to waive the technical points as affecting the other cruisers by admitting at once that but for the success of the projectors of the Alabama the most of them would not have been built; and thus, by satisfying all the claimants alike, atone for the previous seeming reluctance to admit her liability.

This is the princely way of restoring amity; and it will carry with it a positive amelioration of intercourse between Nations, as a wholesome interpretation of international duties.—

E. P. U.

* Vide the annexed editorial of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.



AN AMERICAN SUGGESTION.

(*Pall Mall Gazette*, July 5.)

The *New York World* lately contained an article on the *Alabama* question which for several reasons deserves a more careful consideration from Englishmen than it is likely to obtain at this moment. In the first place we suspect that it embodies the views of the American Secretary of State. In so far as he is enabled to carry out a policy of his own, that policy, we imagine, without any actual knowledge of the matter, will be found identical in its main outlines with that laid down in the *World*. In the next place, it is greatly to be desired that no proposal shall again be made on behalf of the United States which has not recommended itself, in the first instance, to the general sentiment of the country. As the article in question very truly says;—"the controversy between Great Britain and the United States has been so long, and of late so sharply, before the people that it is practically impossible for *any* scheme of adjustment to succeed which does not command the approbation of intelligent voters." The probable acceptance or rejection of such scheme by the English Government may have some influence in determining "intelligent voters" whether to give or to withhold the necessary approbation; and therefore the frank discussion by English journals of any basis of negotiation which is proposed with any show of authority in their American contemporaries may help to supply, for the future, the knowledge which has been wanting in the past. Lastly, the suggestion before us deserves consideration on its merits. To give any opinion as to the manner in which it should be dealt with—supposing it to be actually made—by the British Government would obviously be premature; but it is only fair to say that the proposal sketched out in the *World* is as different as possible from that put forward by Mr. Seward. Whether the balance of argument shall turn out to be for or against it we are bound to admit that it is conceived with a statesmanship and moderation which has not of late charac-

terized the diplomatic dealings of the United States with this country. On all these grounds we think it well to give English readers a careful analysis of the article.

The area of the dispute is narrowed at starting by a declaration that "to require from England an apology or atonement for conceding belligerent character to the Confederate States is unnecessary, useless, and inadmissible." The accepted law of nations permits every sovereign State to decide for itself when a rebellion has attained such proportions as to be a war, and it is as far as possible from being the interest of the United States to narrow the liberty of action thus assured. That the English proclamation of neutrality was not in itself a lawful cause of offence is implied in the omission of the United States to make a precisely similar act a ground of complaint against France and Russia. The real grievance against England as compared with these Powers is that, while they maintained, she fell short of, the neutrality they professed in common. If the act of conceding belligerent rights to the South was innocent, it cannot, the *World* goes on to argue, be worth while to quarrel about the sentiments which inspired it. It does not become the United States to be over-sensitive on this point. A power which has any regard for its own dignity will be very tolerant of the sentiments which foreign Governments entertain or express regarding its acts, and this canon is especially applicable to a nation than which none "is more prone to make free comments, and so to indirectly take part in the political movements of other people." In support of this position the *World* quotes a reply of Mr. Webster to an Austrian remonstrance against certain acts of an American agent in Hungary in 1849, which are very much to the purpose. "While performing with strict fidelity all their neutral duties, nothing will deter the Government or the people of the United States from exercising at their own discretion the rights belonging to them as an independent nation, and from forming and expressing their own opinions, freely and at all times, upon the great political events which may transpire among the civilized nations of the earth." It will be seen that if this principle be fairly applied, a great number of the complaints which have been brought against England in the United States are deprived of all foundation. There were many Englishmen of both political parties who formed and expressed opinions favourable to the South, but, in so doing, they in no way went beyond the liberty which Mr.

Webster rightly elaims on behalf of his own countrymen. If, therefore, the articles goes on, neither the act of conceding belligerent status to the Confederate States, nor the motives which prompted that act, constitute a fair ground of complaint against England, "it would be profitless to complain that *ocean* belligerency was not withheld, or to dispute as to the precise character to be attributed to the blockade proclaimed by Mr. Lincoln. There may be matters for reciprocal municipal legislation hereafter; they have nothing to do with the question now in dispute between the two countries."

By this process the *World* arrives at the conclusion that the only right the United States have against the British Government is one arising out of the very act which has been so ignorantly attacked by many Americans. It is a right "to hold the British Government to a punctual fulfilment of all the obligations of the 'strict and impartial neutrality' which the Queen professed on May 13, 1861. These obligations were *voluntarily* assumed by Great Britain, and in the spirit of national honour and self-respect she cannot and will not refuse to accept as the measure of her duty therein the rules which anterior to that date her own courts and publicists laid down as the necessary and indisputable incidents of neutrality; and if she intentionally or unintentionally violated those rules, whereby the Government or citizens of the United States suffered losses which would not have occurred if those rules had been respected, she cannot and will not withhold an expression of her regret, and an admission of her liability, nor be unwilling to make due atonement and pecuniary reparation." The *World* then enumerates the various acts which the proclamation of the 18th of May declared to be violation of neutrality, and defines the precise question between the two countries to be whether "the Queen's Ministers and other officers exerted with due efficiency all the power of her Majesty to repress the undertaking of any or all of these unlawful acts." The *World* does not believe that "there is any member of the Ministry or of either House of Parliament who if put upon his responsibility as a judge or an arbitrator between the two nations would say that in respect to the *Alabama* the Queen's officers punctually and fully did their duty," and whether this be so or not it is sure that "the people of the United States can never on the admitted facts be made to believe that," in dealing with the *Alabama*, "there was not intentional wilful negligence

on the part of the Customs authorities, a languor of action on the part of the Crown law officers, for which the English Government, acknowledging its regret and responsibility, should promptly make due pecuniary reparation." A case, the facts of which are so clear and undisputed, is not, in the opinion of the *World*, a fit subject for arbitration. As regards the other cruisers, the evidence of neglect is not so perfect; but so far as the *Alabama* is concerned, the people of the United States will never approve a settlement "which is not preceded by an expression on the part of England in some customary form of diplomacy—such for example, as in a diplomatic communication consenting to reopen negotiations—of her regret for the occurrences, her willingness to make due atonement for the injury done to the nation, and pecuniary reparation for the losses of individuals. This done in respect to the *Alabama*, the question of English responsibility for the outfit, escape, and career of the other cruisers, together with the measure of damage actually suffered on account of the *Alabama* as well as the other cruisers, can be submitted to the decision of a commission constituted as to the high contracting parties may seem best." The distinction between such a proposal as is here indicated and that lately made by Mr. Reverdy Johnson is, on the one hand, the omission of any claim upon England for apology or reparation "on account of belligerent recognition *per se*," and on the other hand the stipulation that the British Government shall acknowledge, without any preliminary reference to arbitration, its liability for the depredations of the *Alabama*. The last condition, says the *World*, "is the one point on which the judgment of the American people is clear and settled; on which their demand for redress is imperative and uncompromising. If Great Britain does not owe us reparation for the ravages of the *Alabama* then we have no shadow of a case, and have been urging captious demands. We, of course, shall never admit, not even as the result of the award of arbitrators, that the keen sense of injury under which the nation has so long been smarting had no solid foundation. We cannot consent to regard the responsibility of England for the escape of the *Alabama* as a doubtful question, and if she insists on treating it as such any further negotiations with her would be idle and futile." The principle involved in the *Alabama* claims "cannot be submitted to the decision of Commissioners; it must be prescribed to them as the rule to guide their judgment in awarding damages to claimants.

Whether any particular claim is covered by the principle is a proper question for the Commissioners, as well as the amount of damages ; but the general question of liability must be settled by a concession on the part of England."



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